

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

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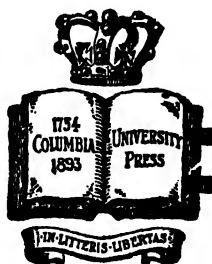
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

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SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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TO
MY FATHER
AND TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

INTRODUCTION

THE united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomae, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

A priori we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pāli*

and *New Persian Phonology*, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229-243), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

‘It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the *Māzandarānī* in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the *Bangālī* in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.’

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* (‘Dissertationes miscellaneae,’ iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), ‘Nonnullae voces [linguae singalaeae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Raz*, ܐܪܚܐ *Chaldaeis*, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, باند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius.’ (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when ‘en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

śāuraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Paštō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Īrānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Īrānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varəša* : Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšak* with the Prākritic *gēha* 'house' beside *gr̥ha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-ēr-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, *ibid.*, 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afyān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Anz.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows :

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces *Mahārāṣṭrī*, the Prākrit *kar' ēḡox̄h̄v*, with Jaina *Mahārāṣṭrī*, *Magadhī* and *Ardhamāgadhi* (also called *Ārṣa* and Jaina Prākrit), and *Śāurasēnī*, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by *Mārkaṇḍēya*, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, *Śākārī*, *Cāṇḍālī*, *Śabārī*, and others form *Mārkaṇḍēya*'s *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are *Apabhraṃśa* and *Paśāci*. *Apabhraṃśa* denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prākṛits or literary dialects of the period. Pāṣācī together with Cūlikapāṣācī seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalitā-vistara, and by the Prākṛit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēnadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prākṛit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prākṛit (or Apabhraṁśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvira and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13-15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṁśas or folk-dialects of the Prākṛits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śaurasēnī-Apabhraṁśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṁśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa through the Laṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sinhalese and Malādivē is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86-93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv-xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6-7, 33-34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihārī Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1883, 3-7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kāśmīrī, Uriyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Siṁhalese and its older form Eḷu, Malādivē, and Gypsy. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35-64, 158-161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96-107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88-89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihārī*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavī, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemman, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225-226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pāmīr, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūcī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmīr dialects include Wāxī, Šīynī, Sariqolī, Rošānī, Tajikī, Sanglīcī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaynōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lahijānī, Gilakī, Tališī, and Tat (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sīvēndī, Yazdī, Zafrahī, Kašahī, Vōnišūnī, Kuhrudī, Nāyīnī, Natanzī, and Kašānī (Geiger, 381-383). The Afyān .

dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūcī, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrānī), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūcī literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrānī is the more primitive speech. North Balūcī is divided into Layārī in the North and Marī in the South, while Southern Balūcī comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūrī, Kirmānšāhī, Gūrānī, Mukrī, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249–252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix–xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11–12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417–423, and his language chart, *ibid.*, 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109–115, 209–213, 230–234, 241–248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from footnotes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākṛit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877–1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell², London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae praepraeiticae*, Bonn, 1837 ; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311–332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1–48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,

in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prākṛit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e.g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhi I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭrī on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257-292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212-234. The material on the Lēṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881-1886. I used for Pāli the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604-614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275-313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872-1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393-421, l. 1-42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258-274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314-345, xvii. 99-182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kāśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxv. 280-305, lxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690-752); and the articles on Sinhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399-434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 53-65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198-220, and Geigér, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177-273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien*, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641-684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371-387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavi I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-i Oim and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867-1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177-213, xv. 117-156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872-1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pāmīr, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyān, Balūčī, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyān, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paštō*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balūčī, by Geiger, *ibid.*, xix. 107-153, 399-464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65-92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227-245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian: *m* instead of *ṃ*, *ś* instead of *ṣ*, and *ṣ* for *ṣ*, also *r*, *r̥h*, *l* for cerebral *r*, *r̥h*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ē*, *ō* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhi I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *g̃*, *j̃*, *ḍ̃*, *b̃*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Simhalese, *ā*, *ā̄* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *ṁ*, *ṅ* by *m̄*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *č* and *c*, and of *ǰ* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *c*, *j* denote palatals, and *č*, *ǰ* affricatae; for Afyān *q* I write *a*, in Balūcī *i* instead of *ī*, in North Balūcī *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k'*, *č'*, *t'*, *p'*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *č*, *čh*, *ǰ* instead of Hübschmann's *ā*, *ī*, *tš*, *thš*, *dž*, *ts*, *ths*, *dž*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic ἐγών: Boeotian λών; Attic δαίλος: Tarentine δαίλος; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian *Ikuvinus* beside later *Iiounur* (cf. also § 143); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see

§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the results of my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gained from the entire book may be summarized thus: the phonological tendencies discernible as early as in the Old Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, each on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, and through regular divergency, no less than through similarity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for his courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works of importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I am indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Press, who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accuracy of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who has grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. My student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where this book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said the Sanskrit poet :

*ekam apy akṣaram yas tu guruḥ śiṣyē nivēdayēt
prthivyām nāsti tad dravyam yad datvā sō 'nrñī bhavēt.*

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afy.	= Afyān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhrāmśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Bahb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāś.	= Pāśācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōš.	= Rōśānī.
GAv.	= Gāḍā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gīl.	= Gīlakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglicī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Šaur.	= Šāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Šiyn.	= Šiynī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Siñh.	= Siñhalese.
Kāś.	= Kāśānī.	Šīr.	= Šīrāzī.
Kāśm.	= Kāśmīrī.	Siv.	= Sivēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Ur.	= Uriyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōniśūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yayn.	= Yaynōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrahī.
Mūlt.	= Mūltānī.		

* = hypothetical forms.

> = becomes.

< = derived from.

The titles of Magazines are abbreviated according to the system of the *Orientalische Bibliographie*.

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *r̥*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *ā* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *ā* and *ō* (Sievers, *Phonetik*⁴, § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ō*, *ē*, or to *ū*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *r̥*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *r̥* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṛ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *l̄*, *m̄*, *n̄*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṛ* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

r, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period, are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *r*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *a*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

$$a = a.$$

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharat*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pākā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} 'ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṭ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gil. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afy. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. *(h)āps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*.

$$a > i.$$

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

a to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhi shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} , Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jaina Prāk. *īṅgāla*, Guj. *īṅgār*, *īṅgōl*, Mar. *īṅgāl*, *īṅgōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jidhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pāli *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhi *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūdiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pāli *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pāli *pañjara*, Ur. *piñjira*, Hindi *piñjar*, Sindhi *piñir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pāli *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindi *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Ur., Bang., Hindi *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhi *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. **prathara* 'first,' Hindi *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pahir(y)ōm*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šiy. *yaš*, Sarq. *yuš*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afy. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Sinh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Šiy. *yin*, Sarq. *ȳn*, *kin*, Minj. *kinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *šan*, *jīn*, Zaf. *šan*, Afy. *jinaš*, *jūnaš*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *šan*, *kin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.

$a > u$.

§ 4. The change of a to u in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original a to u .

a. Indian. As the change of a to i is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of a to u is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as a becomes i in Sindhi, Gujarati and Marathi, so a becomes u most often of all in Uriya and Bangali.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *prthaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jaina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *paññuvisati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kām̐kurī*, Bang. *kām̐kur*, Hindī *kakarī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṅguliu*, Pāli *aṅgulikā*, Nāip. *auñlō*, Bihārī *aṅgurī*, Hindī *uṅgalī*, *aṅgulī*, Panj. *uṅgulī*. Skt., Pāli *dhanu* 'bow,' Simh. *dunu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Simh. **manurama-ka* > *manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Simh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Simh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvān*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *x^aatāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. ✓ Av. *šavāite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuthā*, Kurd. *ciān*, Oss. *caṭūn*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabūr*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Afy. *čalör*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxi *pus*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paš*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. ✓ *x^aan* 'call,' Phl.

xʷanʔanō, New Pers. *xʷāndan*, Wāxī *kandaṃ*, Šiy. *šandam*, Sarq. *šāndam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānaγ*, Kurd. *xʷāndin*, *xūndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(ih)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šiy. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*.

a > ā.

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mār-wārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *saṃrddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmiddhi*, Pāli *samiddhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* 'mustard,' Jaina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparsana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* 'pertaining to the right hand,' Gāthā *prādakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kāśm. *vūṣ*, Ur. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharū*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *ḅācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*. Skt. *khaṭvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khaṭṭā*, Ur. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāt(alā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khaṭṭ*, Sindhī *khaṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Ur. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Ur. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanāum*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālaṇēm*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pāli *ṇagga*, Ur. *naṃgalā*, Bang. *nēmṭā*, Hindī *naṃgā*, E. Panj. *naṃgā*, W. Panj. *nāṃgā*, Sindhi *naṃgō*, Guj. *nāgum*, Mar. *ṇaṃgā*, *naggā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxi *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazaxra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Wāxi *hazūr*, Sarq. *hazōr*, Afy. *zar*, Kurd. *hazār*. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marata* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *mart*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxi, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarata* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxi *sur(i)*, Gab. *sart*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. (h)āps, etc. (see § 2). Av. *pašcat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(in)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastag*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxi, Šīy. *xaš*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x^vāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xasrū*.

a > ī.

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *yīn*, *šīn*, etc. (see § 3).

a > ū.

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kāśm. *vūč*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maidyaṇa* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxi *malung*,

Šiy. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šīr. *nīmīk*.

a > *ē*.

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjābī and Gujarātī show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to *ē*. The intermediate step of the change from *a* to *ē* is shown by the change of *a* to *ā* in Sinhalese, or by the Marāṭhī *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjābī change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *acara*j. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindī *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, U_r., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tēraham*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Sinh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *pheggu*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kāśm. *san*, U_r., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindī *sēmh*, Hindī *sēindh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēindhī*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *laharī* 'wave,' Hindī *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindī, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Sinh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, U_r., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(ā)*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm., U_r., Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Sinh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kāśm. *maṃz*, U_r. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *majhi*, *māmjh*, *maṃh*, Panj. *māmjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṃjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Sinh. *māda*, inscriptions 'mānda'. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Sinh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *vaṅgana* 'egg-plant,' U_r. *bāigu*, Bang. *begun*, Hindī

bāiṃgan, Panj. *bāiṃam*, Mar. *bāiṃgan*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kasm. *satatājih*, Ur. *satcaliśa*, Bang. *satcaliś*, Bihār., Hindi *sāimtālis*, Panj. *saṃtālī*, Sindhi *satētālīh*, Guj. *sūdtālīs*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ē* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *āi*.

Samn. *dū* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gil. *dā*, *dū*, *dī*, Afy. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d-*. Av. *√karəš* 'drag,' Phl. *kašīṇānō*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kešan*, *kišan*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šašt*, *šast*, Afy. *špēta*, Kurd. *šašt*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afy. *tēšta*. Av. *xʷanhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *xʷāhar*. Wāxī *xui*, Sarq. *yaxi*, Sangl. *ixiʷa*, Minj. *yaxiʷa*, Afy. *xōr*, Bal. *gvahār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (h)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiy. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

a > *ō*.

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ō* in Assamese, Uriya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uriya and Bangālī, and in Sinhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Ur. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baīr*, Hindi, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhi *beru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarṣa* 'confusion,' Pāli *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *main-su*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *mōmch*, Hindi *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pāli *cakkhu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *caṇcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōmṭha*, Hindi, Mar.

cōmc. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindi *ēgyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārah*, Sindhi *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vi* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puha(v)i*, Pāli *paṭhavi*, *pathavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*, Sinh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maḍu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāś. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *pañca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxi *pānz*, Šiy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afy. *pinja*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. *√dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dām* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

a > au.

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtānō*, New Pers. *puxtān*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāś. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujana*, Oss. *fičun*.

Aphaeresis of a.

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alanākāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alanākāra*, *alanākia*, Pāli *lanākāra*, Eḷu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *heṭṭha*, Pāli *heṭṭhā*, Ur., Bang. *heṭha*, Sindhi *heṭhē*, Guj. *heṭhē*, Mar. *heṭ*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Ur. *bacāibā*, Bang. *bācān*, Hindi *bacāmnā*, Mar. *vacāviṇēm*. Skt. *aranya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *arañña*, Old Hindi *raṁj*, Hindi *ran*,

Sindhī *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Sinh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *ataṣi* 'linseed,' Kāsm. *aliś*, Ur. *tēṣi*, Bang. *tiśi*, Hindi *tīṣi*, *alsi*. Skt. *aśoka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *asōka*, Sinh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *anurāa*, Sinh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Sinh. *vala*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Wāxī *yanḡl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asēnga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθqaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *azdā* 'knowledge,' Afy. *zda*. Av. *apqs* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāš*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxī *vāz*, Sarq. *vūz*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāšī*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afy. *vōr*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

Syncope of a.

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'areca-nut,' Prāk. *popp̄hala* < **pūḡphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggat*, Pāli *jaggati*, Ur. *jāganā*, Bang. *jāgitē*, Sindhī *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgarum*, Mar. *jāgaṇem*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dubar*, Hindi *dublā*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *rabalō*, Guj.

dubal(a), Mar. *dubal*. Skt. *cāmara* ‘fly-whisk,’ Prāk., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindī *cāumrī*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *choultry*.

b. Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yazatanqm* ‘of the angels,’ Phl. *yaztān*, *yazdān*, New Pers. *yazdān* ‘God.’ Av. *paθana* ‘broad,’ Phl. *pahn(āi)*, Afy. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* ‘blue,’ Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Afy. *šin* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. *(ha)šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *namah* ‘homage,’ Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmī(š)*, *namūš*, *namēš*. Av. *visaiti* ‘twenty,’ Phl. *višt*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vis(sā)*, Afy. *višt*, Bal. *gīst*.

Apocope of *a*.

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindī. In Ur. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* ‘club,’ Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* ‘true,’ Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sām̐c*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* ‘thirteen,’ Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tēraham*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Simh. *teles*.

b. Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetish often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəya* ‘long,’ Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* ‘sharp,’ Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēš*,

New Pers. *tēz*, Wāxi *tiz*, Sarq. *taiz*, Kurd. *tīz*(ī). Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl. New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxi *das*, *las*, Šiy. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl. *Yayn. das*, Afy. *las*, Oss. *das*.

Prothesis of a.

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindī prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindī *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindī *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindī *astri* or *istri* (see below, § 36).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindī *askul*, *iskul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaš* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxi *varao*, Šiy. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Gab. *burā*, Afy. *vrāja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stārə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afy. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxi *vrūt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

$$\bar{a} = \bar{a}.$$

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhāreti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāidi* 'canal,' Wāxi *vād*, Šiy. *vēd*, Sarq. *vād*.

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pāi*, Wāxī *pūð*, Šiy. *pad*, Sangl. *puð*, Gil. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gābu*, Phl. *gās*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afy. *yālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *max*.

$\bar{a} > a$.

§ 16. The shortening of an original \bar{a} is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original \bar{a} under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original \bar{a} .

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindi *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgaśira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasiru*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēula*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvalā*, Sindhi *dēvali*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindi *mag*, *māmgā*, Sindhi *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṁga*, Nāip. *mahaṁgō*, E. Hindi, Hindi *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhi *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khaibōm*, Kāsm. *khyun*, Ur. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhi *khāṁnu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khāṇēm*, Simh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Māhār. Prāk. *bhāgiṇējja*, Pāli *bhāgiṇeyya*, Simh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindi *gāmv*, Sindhi *gāmu*, *gā(m)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*, Simh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargās*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yūn*.

Skt. *lōpāsa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbah*, Sarq. *rapé*, Kāš. *rūvās*, Tal. *rvōs*, N. Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiy., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ārd* 'meal,' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Nāy. *ar*, Afy. *ōra*.

$\bar{a} > \check{i}$.

§ 17. The change of \bar{a} to \check{i} occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāsa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiy., Sarq. *darmīn*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *mīnim* 'I remain.'

$\bar{a} > \check{u}$.

§ 18. The change of \bar{a} to \check{u} is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects \bar{a} is changed to \check{u} before *m* and *n*, as \bar{e} is changed to \check{i} under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*, Siṃh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsnā* 'paunch,' Prāk. *suṇhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afy. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *sāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiy. *rūn*, Afy. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Afy. *čālōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatiy*, Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursay*, Kurd. *tarsunak*, Oss. *tharsun*.

$\bar{a} > \check{e}$.

§ 19. The change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prāk. *metta*, Pāli *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇēm*. Skt. *āsā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāḥ*, Pāli *ratti*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pāli *ālōka* 'appearance,' Sinh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *viḡār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjōr*, Kurd. *bāzēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

$\bar{a} > \bar{o}$.

§ 20. The change of \bar{a} to \bar{o} seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālish, and in Afyān \bar{a} regularly becomes \bar{o} , excepting before nasals, where the change is to \bar{u} (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of \bar{a} often tends to approach the value of \bar{o} .

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāḥ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *mūng*, Gil. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āv*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxī *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoṛa*, Yidg. *yovy*, Yaṛn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(u)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *ap*, N. Bal. *af*, Kurd. *av*. Av. *nqman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī

nung, Māz. *nām*, Gīl. *nōm*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

Aphaeresis of ā.

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ataš*, *taš*, *atiš*, Šiy. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *āyapta* 'reward,' Phl. (*ā*)*yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

Apocope of ā.

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Hindī *chām(v)*, *chām̐h*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāūm*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīmd*, Sindhi *nimr*, Guj. *nimdd*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrvā* 'grass,' Pāli *dubbā*, Uṛ., Bang. *dūba*, Hindī *dūb*.

Anaptyxis of ā.

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *mač-patifrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *pat-fras*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfrāh*, *pādafrāh*.

$$i = i.$$

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷḷu*, Uṛ. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhi *viḷum*, Guj. *viḷulī*, Mar. *bijalī*, *viḷ*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Kāš. *paṭ*, Šiy., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afy. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *ci*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

i > *a*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pāli *haliddā*, also Kāśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, Uṛ. *haldī*, Bang. *haluda*, Bihārī, Hindī *haldī*, Panj. *haldhī*, Guj. *halad*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tī*, *ia*, Pāli *iti*. Skt. *sīthila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhilō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīlā*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍhilō*, Guj. *ḍhilum*, Mar. *saḍhal*, *ḍhīlā*. Skt., Pāli *kāṭhina* 'difficult,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kāṭhin*, Panj. *kāṭhan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kāṭhan*, Mar. *kaḍhin*. Skt. *garbhini* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhīnī*, Pāli *gab-bhīnī*, Bang. *gābhina* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhan*, Sindhī *gābhīnī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhan*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur. *divasa*, Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Sinh. *divasa*, Sinh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Tāl. *zumistān*, Wāxī *zam*, Siy. *zimj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *zimai*, Kurd. *zavistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (h) *uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zūbān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Wāxī *sik*, Siy. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *šiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, *zumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

i > *ā*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *uccha*, Uṛ. *akhu*, *ūkha*, *īkha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, Sinh. *ingu*, *uk*.

i > u.

§ 27. The change of *i* to *u* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of *i* to *u* is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uriya and Bangālī.

Skt. *rājila* 'lizard,' Pali *rājula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jaina Prak., Pali *usu*. Skt., Pali *bindu* 'drop,' Ur., Bang. *bindī*, Hindī, Panj. *būnd*, *bind*, Sindhī *būnd*, *būmrō*, *bīmṛī*, Guj. *būnd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *būnd*, Sinh. *poda*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Ur. *gēru*, Hindī *gērā*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērā*. Skt. *tintidī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Nāip. *titri*, Ur. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Sinh. *iṅgu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of *i* to *u* is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *mušah* 'eyelash,' beside *mišah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kaš. *maja*, *muja*, *maža*, Bal. *micāc*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *mišānk*, *mišī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *simō* 'of winter,' Tal. *sumistān*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (h)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, etc. (see § 25).

i > ī.

§ 28. The lengthening of *i* to *ī* is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of *ā* developed from *a* (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prak. *sīha*, Gāthā *simha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *śiṅgh*, *sīnh*, *siṅgh*, Panj. *siṅgh*, other New Indian dialects *simh*. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prak. *jīhā*, *jībbhā*, Pali *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *seo*, Sindhī *jibh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jibh*. Skt. *āupaśivi*, nom. prop., Pali *upasiwa*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prak. *visat*, Pali *visam*, *visati*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *biśa*, Hindī *bīs*, Panj. *bih*, Sindhī *vih*, Guj., Mar. *vis*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahinī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, U_r. *bhāunī*, *bhaunī*, Bang. *bhain*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahin*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucitra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucitr*, New Pers. *hucir*, *hujir*, *xujir*. Av. *vicinōiŋ* 'gathered,' Phl. *ciŋanō*, New Pers. *cīdan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinay*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapinjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *iŋtya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xiŋt*, Bal. *iŋt*, *it*. Old Pers. *ciŋciy* 'something,' New Pers. *ciŋ*, Kurd. *tiŋt*.

i > *ū*.

§ 29. The change of *i* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' U_r. *ākhu*, *ikha*, *ūkha*, Hindi *ikh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

i > *ē*.

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarātī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇeddā*, *ṇiddā*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pāli *keraṭika*, *kēraṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pāli *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintiḍī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, U_r. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pāli *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindi *sēmdūr*, Sindhi *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēmdūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *ciy* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *cī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *giŋniz* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnic*.

Aphaeresis of i.

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prak., Pāli *dāni(m)*.

[b. Iranian. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vis(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

Syncope of i.

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

Apocope of i.

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi* 'sight,' Prak., Pāli *diṭṭhi*, Hindī *diṭhi*, *diṭh*, *ḍiṭh*, Panj. *ḍiṭṭh*, Sindhi *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *ḍiṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindī *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *šēr*, Afy. *lar*, Kurd. *šir*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

Prothesis of i.

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *stri* 'woman,' Prak., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istri*, colloquial Hindī *istri*, *astri*, Sindhi *istri*, Eḷu *itiri*, Sinh. *istri*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afy. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispī*, *spī*. Skt. *śṛgāla* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afy. *caṣāl*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Afy. *γvay*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iγosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *aṅga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübschmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

$\bar{i} = \bar{i}$.

§ 35. Indo-Iranian \bar{i} is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for \bar{i} exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindi often writes *iy* for \bar{i} (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindi *jīyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhūl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]' = Persian sounds) vowels \bar{e} , \bar{o} with the *maṣrūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels \bar{i} , \bar{u} . The Judæo-Persian and the Balūcī, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *maṣrūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prāk. *jīvia*, Pāli *jīvita*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha(rā)*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšīr*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(āk)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

$\bar{i} > a$.

§ 36. The change of \bar{i} to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pāli *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parīkṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindi *parakhānā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavum*, *parakhānār*, Sindhī *pārakhia*, *parkhaṇu*, Mar. *parakhaṇēm*, *pārakhī*.

$\bar{i} > i$.

§ 37. The shortening of \bar{i} is naturally the most common change to which \bar{i} is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tikṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tin̄ha*, *tikkha*, Pāli *tin̄ha*, *tikkha*, *tikhin̄a*, New Indian dialects *tikh*, except Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindi, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alīka* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, U_r. *duśra*, Old Hindi *dūjā*, Hindi *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)ā*, Sindhi *bījō*, *bīō*, Guj. *bījō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, U_r. *gahira*, Hindi *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhi *gāhirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, U_r. *kilā*, Hindi *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhi *kili*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīta* 'worm,' U_r., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kūdā*, Sindhi *kidō*, Guj. *kidō*, Mar. *kidā*, *kīd*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindi, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhi *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kiti* Sinh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jivāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *zīwandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zīndak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bīja* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhī* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvi*.

$\bar{i} > u$.

§ 38. The change of \bar{i} to u is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Sinh. *duru*. Skt. *pravāsin* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *māda* 'reward,' Phl. *mūd*, Pāz. *moəd*, New Pers. *mūd*, *muđ*, Kurd., Oss. *mīd*.

ī > ā.

§ 39. The change of ī to ā is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścāna* 'going sideways,' Pāli *timicchāna* 'animal.'

ī > ě.

§ 40. The change from ī to ě is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīdrśa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kērisa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhi *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *nedḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niḍḍha*, *nīla*. Skt. *grhītvā* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindi *khelnā*, Gyp. *✓khel* 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phīrūk*.

ī > ō.

§ 41. The change of ī to ō is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*, Sindhi *tīrthu*, Sinh. *toṭa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zīnjīr* 'chain,' Wāxi *zanzīr*, Šiy. *zīnzīr*, Sarq. *zanzair*, Bal. *zamzīl*, Kurd. *zanjōr*, *zanjīr*.

Apocope of ī.

§ 42. The apocope of final ī occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Hindi *gābhin*, Panj. *garabhan*, Guj., Mar. *gābhan*, etc. (see § 25).

u = u.

§ 43. Indo-Iranian *u* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prāk. *chupaṭ*, Pāli *chupati*, U_r., Bang. *chum*, Old Hindi *chuh*, Hindi *chū*, Panj. *chūh*, Sindhi *chuh*, Guj. *chū*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūriṣa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhi *purusu*, Gyp. *poṣa*, cf. also Simh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimīha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxi *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duydar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxi *dagd*, Sangl. *day*, Minj. *loyda*, Yidg. *luydoh*, Afy. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, *ditt*. Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrāk*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mizur*.

$u > a$.

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prāk. *punu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *suruṅga* 'mine,' Pāli *suruṅga*, U_r. *suḍaṅga*, Bihārī, Hindi *suramṅ*, Sindhi *sirimṅh*, Mar. *suramṅ*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindi *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhi *kuḃirō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubara*, *dūbar*, Hindi *dublā*, Panj. *dūbbal*, Sindhi *ḁuḃirō*, *ḁabalō*, Guj. *dubal(ā)*, Mar. *dubal*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afy., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *uštūr*, Wāxi *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl. New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḁum(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *ḁim*, Kurd. *dūw*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*.

$u > i$.

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūriṣa*, Pāli

purisa, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimīha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indyr*, Mar. *undir*. Skt. *vālukā* 'sand,' Pāli *vālukā*, Ass., Ur., Bāṅg. *bāli*, Hindi *bālā*, Sindhi *vārī*, Guj. *bālu*, Mar. *vāluṃyā*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prāk. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Sinh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhik* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohī*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxī *bōn*, Šiy. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

u > ā.

§ 46. The change of *u* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumatī* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmātī*.

u > ī.

§ 47. The change of *u* to *ī* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *sīrah*, Siv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *ḍīm*, etc. (see § 44).

u > ū.

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prāk. *ūsava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prāk., Pāli *kula*, Ur. *kula*, Sindhi *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kuḷ*, Mar. *kūḷ*, *kuḷ*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prāk. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bāṅg. *mūṣal*, Hindi *mūsāl*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prāk., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *sa-*

mudda, Pali *ṣamudda*, *muhudda*, Sinh. *muhuda*, *māda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prak., Pali *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindi *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhi *muṭhi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pāl*, Gril. *purd*, Kurd. *par*, *pir(d)*, *purd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukri *tūr*.

u > ě.

§ 49. The change of *u* to *ě* is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prak. *phupphusa*, Pali *phapphāsa*, Uṛ. *phamsaphamisa*, *phāmphāmi*, Bang. *phēmparā*, *phōmpasā*, Hindi *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhi *phiphiru*, Mar. *phōpis*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiy. *zafcam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šudā*, Kurd. *čān*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *čāun*.

u > ō.

§ 50. The change of *u* to *ō* is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhul* and the *ma'ruf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to *ō* is the change of *u* to *ö* in Wāxī and to *ü* in Sariqolī, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prak. *mottā*, Pali *muttā*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulākhala* 'mortar,' Prak. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(l)ūhala*, Uṛ. *ukhalī*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prak. *ukkā*, Pali *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuth*, Nāip. *kōr*, Uṛ. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindi *kōṛi*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pali *kuddala* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhi *kōrari*, Guj. *kōḍarō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udālla*. Skt. *pustaka*

'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *potthaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthi*, Sinh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* 'understanding,' Phl. (*h*)*ōš*, New Pers. *hōš*, *huš*. Av. *uśah* 'dawn,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suzra* 'red,' Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiy. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Kurd. *jūk*.

Aphaeresis of *u*.

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* 'above,' Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* 'assistance,' Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* 'sits down,' Pāli *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kāsm. *√bih*, U_r., Bang. *basē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *baīsē*, Sindhī *biḥē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vasē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* 'fig-tree,' U_r. *ḍumuri*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uajjhā*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādḥā*, Hindī *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxī *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, *uštir*.

Syncope of *u*.

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhū(d)ā*, *dhī(d)ā*, Pāli *dhītā*, U_r. *jhia*, Bang. *jhi*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daiśhu-paiti* 'lord of the land,' New Pers.

dihxān 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *daiśhu-paiti*).

Apocope of *u*.

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bāhā*, Pāli *bāhu*, Uṛ., Bang. *bāha*, Hindī, Panj. *bām̐h*, Sindhī *bām̐h*, Guj. *bām̐hi*, Mar. *bām̐hi*, *bāhī*, *bāhu*.

Prothesis of *u*.

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afy. *stan*, Kurd. (i)*stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

Epenthesis of *u*.

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kaśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kaśm. *nyūla*. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭha* 'seen,' Kaśm. *dyuṭhu*.

$$ū = \bar{u}.$$

§ 56. Indo-Iranian *ū* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhāmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūm̐m*, *bhūm̐*, Sindhī *bhū(im)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būmi* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *būm*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dir*, Māz. *dir*, Gīl. *dūr*, Wāxī *dir*, Šīy., Sarq. *dar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afy. *lūri*, Kurd. *dūr*.

$\bar{u} > a$.

§ 57. The change of \bar{u} to a is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān, when \bar{u} often becomes a before nasals or r .

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jaina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jaina Prāk. *bhamuha*, Pāli *bhamuka* (cf. also Pāli *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthūra* 'large,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Phl., New Pers. *nūn*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nūn*.

$\bar{u} > i$.

§ 58. The change of \bar{u} to i is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' U_r. *mūla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Sinh. *mila*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *māš*, Gab. *mušk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afy. *mayā(k)*, Bal. *mušk*, N. Bal. *mūšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mist*.

$\bar{u} > u$.

§ 59. The shortening of \bar{u} to u is the most frequent change to which u is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese \bar{u} is always written u .

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kāśm. *mol* (but *mūlāi* 'radically'), U_r. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jaina Prāk. *tuḍiya*, Pāli *turiya*, U_r. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt.

śalaka 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *salūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cūrṇa*, Kāśm. *cūrṇ*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhī *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kā(m)ām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhuām*, Kāśm. *duh*, Uṛ. *dhūmā*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhū(m)ām*, Sindhī *dhūmhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Simh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buj*, Wāxī *buc*, *būc*, Šiy., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *vusa*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šiy. *yaθ*, Yāyn. *yūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Pāz. *ku*, New Pers. *kujā*, Minj. *ko*, Afy. *kūm*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khū(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *batū*, Hindī *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ū)*).]

ū > *ā*.

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *ā* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

ū > *ī*.

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *ī* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* ' juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapi*, *b(h)ōrīp*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Wāxī *dīr*, Afy. *liri*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxī *dīt*, Šiy. *duđ*, Sarq. *dūt*, Afy. *lū*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tat *bīrūd*. Kurd. *barīk* 'pocket' beside *barūk*.

$\bar{u} > \check{e}$.

§ 62. The change of \bar{u} to \check{e} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ñēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūre*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *purva*, Śaur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindi *pūrab*, Sindhi *pūrbu*, Sinh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš., Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxi *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcin*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, *šēšin*, Kurd. *sūzin*.

$\bar{u} > \check{o}$.

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *tāmbūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pāli *tambala*, Uṛ. *tambōla*, Guj. *tambāl*, Mar. *tāmbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbulī* 'betel-seller,' Hindi *tāmbōlī*, Panj. *tāmbōlī*, Guj. *tāmbōlī*, Mar. *tāmbōlī*.

$\bar{u} > yah$.

§ 64. The interchange of \bar{u} and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zālū* 'leech,' Šiy., Sarq. *zālyah*, Afγ. *šavara*, Bal. *zarāy*, Kurd. *zālū(g)*, *zulul*, *zūrī*.

$\bar{u} > va$.

§ 65. The change of \bar{u} to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūnavimśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnavisaī*, Kāsm. *kunavuh*, Uṛ. *unāīśa*, Bang. *ūnīś*, Bihārī *ōnaīs*, *vanaīs*, Hindi *unīs*, Panj. *unnīh*.

$r = \check{r}$.

§ 66. Indo-Iranian \check{r} , which is represented by \check{r} in Old Indian, by *ərə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ō*, or into *r* (sometimes *l*) preceded or followed by *a*, *i*, *u*. The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original *r*. Thus the usual change of *r* is to *a(r)*, *ra*, but labials often colour the vowel to *u(r)*, and sibilants colour it to *i(r)*.

In the Indian Gāthā dialect *r* is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit *r* often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *trṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *trṇu*, *tanu*, *tinu*, Bang. *tinakā*, *tilakā*, Hindī *tinakā*, Panj. *tin*, Sindhi *tīlī*, Mar. *tan*, Sinh. *taṇa*.

r > *ar*.

§ 67. The change of *r* to *ar* is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *grha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmitha*, Tag. *khalm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl. *arəša*, New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiy. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *vir*, *hirš*, *hirc*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *ərədaya* 'heart,' Phl. *arədaya*, New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *ēlah*, Gīl. *ēl*, Šiy. *ərād*, *ərāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *ēl*, Afy. *əra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(i)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Oss. *sald*.

r > *a*.

§ 68. The change of *r* to *a* is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Pāli *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, U_r., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindi *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindi *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhi *vaḍḍo*, Guj. *vaḍḍo*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' U_r. *būrhā*, *būḍi*, Bang. *būḍā*, Hindi *buddhā*, *būḍhā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhi *budhō*, *būḍhō*, Guj. *burhō*. Skt. *vr̥ṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *vusaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mr̥ttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Nāip. *māntō*, Kāśm. *mič*, U_r., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *maṭṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Sindhi *miṭi*, Guj. *maṭṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, U_r. *malā*, Hindi *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhi *muō*, Guj. *muwum*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Sinh. *malā*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pr̥daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afy. *prāng*.

r > *ra*.

§ 69. The change of *r* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vracha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukḥa*, *riccha*, *rikḥa*, Pāli *rukḥa*, U_r. *rukha*, Hindi *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *rukḥa* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *vr̥kṣa*.]

r > *ir*.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*. Skt. *vr̥ṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pāli *vusa*, Sindhi *virḥu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

r > *i*.

§ 71. The change of *r* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *krta* 'done,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, Māhār. Prāk. *kaya*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prāk. *kala*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *ḥata*, Bihārī *karl*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Old Hindi *kūya*, Sindhi *kiō*. Skt. *krpaṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prāk. *kivanu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdaṇka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prāk. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Simh. *rusi*, Gyp. *rašāy*. Skt. *grdhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gīdh*, *gidhvā*, Hindi *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhi *gijh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gid(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prāk. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Ur. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindi, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhi *giu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khi*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Ur. *siṅgā*, Bang. *siṅg*, Hindi *siṅg*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhi *siṅu*, Guj., Mar. *siṅg*, Gyp. *siṅg*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhi *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilo. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Ur. *pūtha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *pūth*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhī*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāth*, *puṭhā*, Simh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *trṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, Hindi *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhi *ṭih*, *ṭihāi*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxi *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *xərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirš*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriftah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *gīaft*, Bal. *gipta*.

r > *ri*.

§ 72. The change of *r* to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindi and Panjābī; Sindhi and

Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uriya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddhā* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi*, *iddhi*, Pāli *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pāli *ikkā*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Ur. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rikkh*, Hindī *rich*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rich*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Hindī *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risatī*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

ṛ > *ur*.

§ 73. The change of *ṛ* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavī and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəza* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *puršt-tanō*, New Pers. *pursidan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pörsam*, Afy. *pušt*, Kurd. *pīrsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*.

ṛ > *u*.

§ 74. The change of *ṛ* to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, *ṛ* becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥thivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puhuvi*, *puhavi*, Pāli *pathavi*, *paṭhavi*, *puthuvi*, *puthavi*, Old Hindī *puhumi*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *muṇāla*, Pāli *mulāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ū*, *riū*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *rutī*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *vr̥ṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhī*, *vitṭhī*, Pāli *vuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' Ur. *būrhā*, *būḍī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būḍhā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *budhō*, *būḍhō*, Guj. *burhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *par̥ṣti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxī *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.

also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərəta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khutha*). Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdak*, Wāxī *valk*, Bal. *guttiy*. Av. *fratərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsūtanō*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to *r* > *u* is *r* > *ō* before sibilants in Wāxī, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxī *kōšt*.]

r > *ru*.

§ 75. The change of *r* to *ru* occurs but rarely, and like the change of *r* to *ri* (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *rukḥha*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukḥha*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

r > *ā*.

§ 76. The change of *r* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

r > *i*.

§ 77. The change of *r* to *i* is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Uṛ. *pīṭha*, *pīṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pīšt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

r > *ě*.

§ 78. The change of *r* to *ě* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prāk. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindi *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah*, Kaš. *viša*, Māz., Tal. *višē*, Kurd. *viša*.

r > *ō*.

§ 79. The change of *r* to *ō*, like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *ṛ* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *mūsā*, Pāli *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsāvā*, *mūsāvā*, Pāli *musāvādin*).

ṛ > *al*.

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākṛit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dhaṛl*, *dhāil*, *dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney,' Wāxī *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varaka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gil. *valg*, *valk*, Judaeo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

ṛ > *r*.

§ 81. The change of *ṛ* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmāṭṛka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāua*, Sindhi *jātrō*. Skt. *māṭṛka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māua*, Sindhi *mātrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *ṛ* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *ṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭi*, *māṭi*, *miṭṭi*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vr̥nta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta*, *venta*, *vonta*, Pāli *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭha*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pāli *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *tasinā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛ̥ṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *musā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pr̥daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *r̥* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *r̥* of Skt. *mṛ̥ttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *r̥* of Skt. *gṛ̥ha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *pr̥sthā* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛ̥ṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *r̥* of Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ō*; and of Av. *par̥šti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

r̄.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *r̄*, arising from Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *l̄*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *ir*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *āri*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22-30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48-49, 54-55, 60, 70-71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *r̄* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *r̄*.

a.-b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīr̥tha* 'across,' Prāk. *tit̥tha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tit̥tha*; Wāxi *tūrt*. Skt. *ūr̥mi* 'wave'; Av. *var̥mi*, Sarq. *var̥m*, Bal. *gv̥arm*. Skt. *dīr̥gha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīraha*, *dīha*, *dig̥gha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhi *ḍrighō*; Av. *dar̥ya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afy. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirīž*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

l̄.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *l̄* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Iranian period. In Old Indian *ḷ* is very rare. The developments of *ḷ* in Middle Indian were analogous to those of *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *klpta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

$\bar{e} = \bar{e}$.

§ 85. Indo-Iranian \bar{e} is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kāśm. *day*, Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhūl ē* with the *ma}rūf ī* has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judaeo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between \bar{e} and \bar{i} .

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *liv*, Šiy. *div*, Sarq. *dev*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aδdīri* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zīr*, Sīv. *ši*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vid*. Sīv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vōn. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vid*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

$\bar{e} > a$.

§ 86. The change of \bar{e} to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original \bar{e} unchanged (e.g. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' E. Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *milicchhu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēaraha*, Pāli *ekādasā*,

ekārasa, Kāśm. *kāh*, Uṛ. Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikāraham*, *yāraham*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (h)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *iẓma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (h)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

$\bar{e} > i$.

§ 87. The change of \bar{e} to *i* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops *i* from \bar{e} before *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdanā* 'pain,' Prāk. *vianā*, *vēanā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Uṛ. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhī *ikāraham*, *yāraham*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. *παρά]δεισος*, Phl. *diz*, New Pers. *diz*, *diš*, *dēz*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēlma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xāšin*, Šiy. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšin*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. (ha)*šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$.

§ 88. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kayūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{i}$.

§ 89. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{i} is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where \bar{e} becomes \bar{i} regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāś. Prāk.

mēkha, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mīnh*, *mēnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīham*, Sindhī *mīnhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Sāmī. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivil*, E. Kurd. *baval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašin*, Yidg. *axšin*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. *(ha)sin*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dim*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēš*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī, Šīy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{o}$.

§ 90. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{o} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pāli *vēṭhana*, Simh. *voṭunu*, New Simh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$.

§ 91. The change of \bar{e} to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^aaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^aāi*, New Pers. *x^aai*, Wāxī *xīl*, Sarq. *xaiḍ*, Afy. *x^aalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēḍ*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

$\bar{e} > y$.

§ 92. The change of \bar{e} to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, Ur., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, *(h)ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ek*, *aik*, Mar. *ēk*, *yēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aiva*, Phl. *ēv(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxī *ī(v)*, Šīy. *yiv*,

yi, yu, yū, Sarq. *iv, ī*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afy. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *ikī*, Dig. Oss. *yan*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers., Wāxi, Šiy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89). •

Aphaeresis of ē.

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindī *rēṇḍī*.

Apocope of ē.

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Ur. *tal(ē)*, Hindī *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, tal*. Skt. *saṃgē* 'with,' Ur. *saṃgē*, Hindī, Panj. *saṃn*, Sindhī *sām*, Guj. *saṃn*, Mar. *saṃgēm*.

The multiform changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian **paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. **paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prāk. *pacchaī*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pichē*, *pacchē*, Hindī *pāchē*, *pīchē*, *pāchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pāchī*, *pachō*.

āi = āi.

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *āi* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *āi* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *āi* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. **rāyō*.]

āi > aī.

§ 96. The change of *āi* to *aī* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *saīnna*, *senna*, Pali *sēniya*.

āi > *ī*.

§ 97. The change of *āi* to *ī* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prāk. *dhīra*, *dhijja*, U_r., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *dhīr*.

āi > *ē*.

§ 98. The change of *āi* to *ē* is the normal one to which *āi* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prāk., Pāli *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prāk., Pāli *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindī *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prāk., Pāli *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Pāli *gērika*, U_r. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*.

ō = *ō*.

§ 99. Indo-Iranian *ō* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese *ō*, although it is retained in the script, is pronounced *ū*. The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl* *ō* and the *maṣrūf* *ū* which has already been observed in the case of *ē* and *ī* (see §§ 35, 85). The Judæo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between *ō* and *ū* (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prāk. *bhōaṇa*, Pāli *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pāli *yotta*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhī *jōṭō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Wāxī *rau*, Afy. *rva*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rō(š)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvai*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tāg. *qūs*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxī *vūl*, Sarq. *bao*, Yayn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoða* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

•
 $\bar{o} > au$

§ 100. The change of \bar{o} to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokéntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *sawagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\bar{o} > a$

§ 101. The change of \bar{o} to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(n)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcini-tanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gil. ✓ *sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējāl*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšay* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šiy. *šau*, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finje*, Tag. *fing*.

•
 $\bar{o} > i$

§ 102. The change of \bar{o} to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *yiš*, *yūš*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{o} > u$

§ 103. The change of \bar{o} to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of \bar{o} to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangālī often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prāk. *ruccatī*, Māg. Prāk. *lōadi*, Pali *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prāk. *jōmhā*, Pali *jumhā*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jaina Prāk. *uya*, Pali *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pali *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhī *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kāśmīrī *ō*, *ū* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *ī*, e. g. Kāśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Kāśm. *bodd* (written *baḍu*), fem. *būd* (written *baḍū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, mountain Jewish *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfay*, Kurd. *kūvī*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Kāš., Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūš*, *gūša*, Bohtanī *kuši*.

ō > ī.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *ī* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōī* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōi*, Gab. *mīd*, Šīv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gīl., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Šīv. *tīlū*.

ō > ū.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *ī* before nasals, § 89). In Afyān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(ak)*, New Pers.

gūn(ah), Afy. *γūna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Pāz., New Pers. *hūm*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gil. *Ṭsūj*, Tag. Oss. *sūjin*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *raḡ*, Tāl. *rḡš*, *rūš*, Kurd. *rāš*, *rō(š)*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, *darōy*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{e}$.

§ 106. The change of \bar{o} to \bar{e} is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindī *rēhū*, Hindī *rōhū*, Panj. *rēhū*, Simh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēmhu*, Hindī *gēhum*, *ghēum*, *gō(m)hum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kaśm. *čūr*, Simh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

$\bar{o} > va$.

§ 107. The change of \bar{o} to *va* occurs regularly in Afyān, excepting before *m*, where \bar{o} is retained, and before *n*, where \bar{o} becomes *u* (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Afy. *γvaiy*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afy. *rvaj*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{au} = \bar{āu}$.

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian \bar{au} has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which \bar{au} has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of \bar{au} to \bar{av} (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviyā* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvicak*, *nāvtāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. **nāvō*.]

āu > aū.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *aū* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paūra*, Pāli *pōra*. Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaūrava*, Śaur. Prāk. *gōrava*. Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *maūli*, Pāli *mōli*.

āu > u.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāuvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvvāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Ur. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindī, Mar. *cōrī*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ūsukka*, Pāli *ussukka*.

āu > ū.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhi *sūrihāi*.

āu > ō.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudī* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pāli *kōmudī*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhi *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamyā* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Ur., Bang. *jhūlī*, *jhulī*, *hōlī*, Hindī *jhōlī*, Guj., Mar. *jhōlī*.

SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

$$k = k.$$

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahay*, *kahēi*, Pāli *katheti*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kah*, Guj. *keh*, Sirhh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *eka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, Ur., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(ke)*, Hindī *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. (*y*)*ēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak* N. Bal. *khofay*, Kurd. *kūh*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *kartānō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiyn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin* Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

k > *kh*, *x*.

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūči *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Ur. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *kubaḍā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhār. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *khāmsī*, *khāmsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Hindī *kuām*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindī *kōr*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafu* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargaz*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākəm* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. (*h*)*ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, fem. *nakh*.

•
 $k > g$.

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kīra* 'parrot,' Sīmh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kira*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindī *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhī *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Sīmh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhī *kāngu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kih*, Wāxī *kui*, *koi*, Šīyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *čī*, Kamuntī *khī*. Av. *yākarō* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaɣar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'porcupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afy. *škōn*, *škun*, Bal. *sīkun*, N. Bal. *sīxun*.

$k > k̂$.

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *k̂* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Kurd. *kīūh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kāš., Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

$k > c, č$.

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *č* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* 'name of a degraded tribe,' Prāk. *cila(d)a* (but *kirāya* 'monkey'). Skt. *kunda* 'turner,' Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Ur. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* 'belonging to a village,' Sindhī *gōṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kāśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kāśm. *bātuk* 'drake,' *bātuc* 'duck.']

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šīyn. *ēd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afy. *cārah*, Bal. *kārd(a)*, N. Bal. *khārca*, Kurd. *kir(d)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, *sēšin*, Kurd. *šūšin*.

$k > t$.

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Simh. *takul*.

$k > p$.

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalukikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jaluka* (due in this example to dissimilation),

$k > bh$.

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śikara* 'spray,' Prāk. *śī(h)ara*, *sībhara*, Pāli *śikara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

$k > y$.

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narival*, Bang. *nārel*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindī *nāriyal*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Guj. *nāriyal*, Mar. *nāraḷ*. Skt. *ākāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgāra*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkīl*, Simh. *kovullā*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. (u)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Simh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Elu *siyuru*, Simh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māṭikān* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigān*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *māḍin*, *māzin*.

$k > v$.

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pāli *nakula*, Uṛ., Bang. *nēul*, Hindī *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhi *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Simh. *kovullā*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāsatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarītanō*, Pāz. *guhārād*, New Pers. *guvārad*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

$k > š$.

§ 124. The change of *k* to *š* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sišin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, *sēšin*, etc. (see § 118).

$k > h$.

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *siriha*. Skt. *nikāśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,

Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *srjanākāra* 'creator,' Sindhī *sirjanahāru*. Skt. *ākāsa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Sinh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

$k > z, \xi$.

§ 126. The change of *k* to *z, ξ* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Zaf., Kaš. *sōzō*, Kurd. *šūkin*, etc. (see § 118).

Aphaeresis of k.

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōrarī*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*.

Syncope of k.

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prāk. *ōāsa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Ur., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *nārēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Mar. *nāraḷ*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhār*.

Apocope of k.

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bḡdaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*,

Kāś. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).
Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānī*, Mukri *xānā*.

Epenthesis of k.

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *mītkōxt*, Pāz. *mīduct*.

kh = kh.

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk., Pāli *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihaṣ*, Pāli *likhati*, Kāśm. *lekh*, Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavun*, Mar. *lihiñēm*, Simh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāṣ*, Pāli *khādati*, Ur. *khārba*, Bang. *khārtē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhi *khāṇu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khāñēm*, Simh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxi *xur*, Šiyn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afy. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi *yix*, Šiyn. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*.

kh > k.

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khalu*. Skt. *khā* 'spring,' Pāli *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(î)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

kh > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh*, *γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pāli *rēkha*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śṛmṅkhala* 'chain,' Prāk. *saṁkala*, *saṁkhalā*, *simkhalā*, Pāli *saṁkhalā*, Kāśm. *hāmhalā*, Ur. *sāmkala*, *sāmkara*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhī *saṁghar*, Guj. *sāmkal*, Mar. *sā(m)kal*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākhā* 'twig,' Phl. *šāk*, New Pers. *šax*, *šāγ*.

kh > *c*.

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *s*.

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *h*.

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhi* 'friend,' Prāk. *sahi*, Pāli *sakhi*, Sindhī *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pāli *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(m)h*, Hindī *mumh*, Panj. *mūmhu*, *muhum*, Sindhī *mumhum*, *mukhu*, Sirh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiyn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *y*.

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Sinh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > v.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Sinh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

Prothesis of kh.

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xišm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirc*, *hirs*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ῥόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha}ik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxi *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

g = g.

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gaḍḍabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhi *garahu*, Guj. *gadheḍō*, Mar. *gaḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Pāli *yugala*, Ur. *jugala*, Bang., Hindi, Panj., Guj. *jugāl*, Mar. *julā*, *jāl*, *juval*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *šürm*, Afy. *γarma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vön. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxi *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *šāv*, Sarq. *šao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōγ*.

$g > k$.

§ 141. The change of the voiced g to the voiceless k is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has q initially for Indo-Iranian g (Digaurish γ).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Pāiś. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Siṁh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Elu *gurulu*, Siṁh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Ur. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gahirō*, Siṁh. *gāmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

$g > gh, \gamma$.

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian g is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects g becomes γ regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmīr dialects, in Afyān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian g becomes γ also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Siṁh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Ur. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(m)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *ghēhūm*, Panj. *ghēhūm*, Sindhī *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jāk*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn.

yāk, Sarq. *yaul*, Yidg. *yū*, Afy. *yvaiy*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). 'Av. *gaða* 'thief,' Afy. *yal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrāk*, Oss. *mary*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nū*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *nayan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*.

g > y.

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prāk. *jaya*, Sindhī *jaṅu*, *jaṅaṭu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Sinh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prāk., Pāli *nāga*, Sinh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *zaringūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

g > v.

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpaṭ*, *maṛpaṭ*, New Pers. *muy*, *mōy*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargōš* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. **xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaš*.

g > š.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *š* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šīynī and Sariqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šiyn. *zāv*, Sarq. *ḫao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *ḫūrm*, *gūrm*, etc. (see § 140).

$g > h$.

§ 146. The change of g to h is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pāli *bhāginējja*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*.

Syncope of g.

§ 147. The loss of an internal g is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of g as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadhēya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadēha*, Māhar. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pāli *bhāga*. Skt. *ṣṛgāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pāli *siḡāla*, Uṛ. *śiāla*, *śēāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivalā*. Skt. *āgata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duuṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhi *ḍuṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhañī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuñī*, *bhaūñī*, Bang. *bañ*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, *bhāin*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *julā*, *jūl*, *juval*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, Māz. *darū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigūn(īh)*, New Pers. *cigūnah*, *cūn*.

$gh = gh$.

§ 148. Indo-Iranian gh is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēya* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēy*, Dig. Oss. *mēya*, Tag. *mīy*.

gh > k.

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašəmaoya* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daya* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāy*, New Pers. *dāy*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāy*, Kurd. *dak*.

gh > kh.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāisācī Prakrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prak. *mēha*, Pāis. Prak. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mīm̐h*, Panj. *mīm̐h*, *mīham̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*.

gh > g.

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prak. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kāśm. *gur**, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighatātē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighātēti*, Ur., Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindī, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhī *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagad*, Mar. *bighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *γulyul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

gh > h.

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prak., Pāli *lahu*, Sinh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindī, Panj. *(a)rahaṭ*, Sindhī *ar(a)ṭu*, Guj. *rēm̐ṭ*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prak. *mēha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mīm̐h*, Panj. *mīm̐h*, *mīham̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. **baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. *rō Bayástravon ōpos*, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistān*, *bahistān*, *bistān*.

Syncope of gh.

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raya* nom. prop., Old Pers. *ṛaga*, Phl. *rak*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

ṛ, ṛ̥

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhī, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ṛ*, *ṛ̥*, pronounced *ṛg* and *ṛ̥*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ṛ* and *ṛ̥* have been lost. The Sindhī *ṛ* and *ṛ̥* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

c = c.

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavī and Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāri*, *caturo*, Pāli *catu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' Uṛ., Bang. *nīca*, Hindī *nīcū*, Panj. *nīcōm*, Sindhī, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Siv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vön. *cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gil. *ciš*, Wāxī *cōšm*, Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' Phl. *caxr*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθ'a*, Phl. *citṛē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afy. *čīra*, *sīra*, Kurd. *cāra*.

c > č.

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī, Kafirī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, dēśajas, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *ī*, *ē*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kāśm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šīyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *čir*, Afy. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šīyn. *čem*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*.

c > ch.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūci.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

c > j.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *z* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prak. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayalā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōzēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. *✓sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sējal*, *svaǰavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sōǰun*, Tag. *sūǰin*. Av. *haca + adairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *ašēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *šēr*, Šīr. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central

dialects *jir*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *ær*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vaocat* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(āk)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāš*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaḡi*, Zaf. *vāš*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vön. *bōja*, Kuhr. *bavōji*, Nāy. *ūwāj*.

$c > \check{j}$.

§ 159. The change of *c* to *j* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afyān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sčjal*, *svaj-avul*, *sčzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(ih)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Sīv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaḡ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*.

$c > th$.

§ 160. The change of *c* to *th*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thomṭ*, Bang. *ṭhōmṭ*, *cōmṭ*, Hindī *ṭhōmṭh*, *cōmc*, Guj. *cāmc*, Mar. *cōmc*.

$c > t$.

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jaina Prak. *tēgicchā*, Pali *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *cišciy* 'anything,' New Pers. *ciz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

$c > th, \theta$.

§ 162. The change of *c* to *th, \theta*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *ṭhōmṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

$c > d$.

§ 163. The change of c to d occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Sinh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prāk. *mucāi*, Māhār. Prāk. *muyāi*, Pāli *muñcati*, Sinh. *mudanavā*.

$c > y$.

§ 164. The change of c to y is only an apparent one, y being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of c (cf. §§ 122, 137, 148).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prāk. *muyāi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$c > s$.

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindī c is always pronounced s . The Sinhalese often changes c to s , which may further develop into h . Of the Iranian dialects the Afyān shows the development of s from c most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Ur. *cak*, E. Hindī *cāk*, W. Hindī *cakkī* (pron. *sakkī*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects \sqrt{pac} , Sinh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *sīra*, *čīra* (see § 155).

$c > š$.

§ 166. The change of c to $š$ occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *aš*, *š(i)*, Wāxi, Sarq. *z*, Afy. *š*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *š(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nāšuk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēš*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

'day,' Sīv. *rōšā*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* 'wood,' New Pers. *cōb*, Šir. *cūy*, Wāxi *šōkk*, Sarq. *ṣaib*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlu *šiv*.

c > z.

§ 167. The change of *c* to *z* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* 'runs,' Phl. *tācēt*, *tāzēt*, New Pers. *tāzad*, Wāxi *tōcam*, Sarq. *taṣam*, Afy. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' New Pers. *rōz*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* 'follows,' Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāzad*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judaeo-Pers. *sāzad*.

c > š.

§ 168. The change of *c* to *š*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucithra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *hujir*, *xujir*, *hušir*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rōš*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπίθη* 'measure for wheat,' Phl. *kapič*, New Pers. *hašīš*, *kaviš*.

c > h.

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Siṃh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pālī *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Siṃh. *hora*, *hera*.

c > č.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *č* is found occasionally in the North Balūč.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' N. Bal. *cyār*, etc. (see § 156).

Syncope of c.

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the

Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, *vacana*, Pāli *vacana*, Sindhī *vacanu*. Skt. *sūci* 'needle,' Prāk. *sūi*, Pāli *sūci*, Uṛ., Bang. *sūci*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sūi*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *suī*, Gyp. *suu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōš*, *ruš*, etc. (see § 159).

ch = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhī *chāpanu*, *cāpanu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapudānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭanēm*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*)*chop*, *shampoo*.

ch > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindī *cāmpānā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhī *cāpanu*, *chāpanu*, Mar. *cāpaṭanēm*, *chāpanēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

ch > *ṭ*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *ṭ* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭapudānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *ṭāp*, *ṭhapanu*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *ṭh*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Hindī *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭō*

panā, tōpanā, Sindhi *ṭhapanu, ṭapudānu*, Mar. *ṭhapaḱā, ṭap*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *t*.

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *√chap* 'go,' Hindi *tōpanā, ṭōpanā, ṭīpanā, ṭhapanā*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *s*.

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥chati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchaṭ*, Pāli *pucchati*, Ur. *pūchanā, pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindi *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhi *puchaṇu*, Guj. *puchavum*, Mar. *pusanēm*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā, chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Ur. *chāhina*, Hindi *chām(v), chāmḥ, chāom*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*: Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*.

j = *j*.

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṇgha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jaṃgha*, Nāip. *jān*, Bang. *jāngī*, E. Hindi, Hindi *jāngḥ*, Panj. *jāngḥ*, Sindhi *jaṇgh*, *jaṃgh*, Guj., Mar. *jaṃghā, jāngḥ*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātr̥jāyā* 'brother's wife,' Ur., Bang. *bhāṭja*, Hindi *bhāṭj, bhāvaj, bhāujī, bhōjāṭ*, Sindhi *bhōjāṭ*, Mar. *bhāvajāṭ*. Skt. *bhrātr̥ja* 'nephew,' Hindi, Panj., Guj. *bhatijā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan, yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, šan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *šanikō*, Šīyn. *yin*, Sarq. *yin, šin*, Minj. *šinga*, Afy. *jinaī, jūnaī, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *šin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers.

zanad, Zaf. *bašint*, Kaš. *jidan*, Kuhr. *jindamün*, Šiyn. *šinam*, Sarq. *zanam*, Afy. *zanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *zanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bāz*, *bāš*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brijag*, *brējag*.

$j > gh, \gamma$.

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh*, γ , is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šiyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *šin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$.

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāṣāṇī Prākṛit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāu*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāṣ. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāu*, *rān*, except Sinh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *vaccaṭ*, Pāli *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$.

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *jaṅgala* 'wild,' Old Hindi *jaṅgar*, New Ind. dialects *jaṅgalī*, except Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhi *jhaṅgalī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

$j > d$.

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *ṣṛō*, New Ind. dialects *jibh* (Sindhi *jibh*), Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaṭ*, *du(g)umchaṭ*, *jhuṇaṭ*, *juucchaṭ*, Pāli *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* 'glory,' Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Sindh. *tēda*.

j > y.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* 'herd,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Gīri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaja* 'elephant,' Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pāli *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Gab. *yan(ak)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jīn*, *šan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

j > v.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* 'of a king,' Prāk. *rāāṇō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṇō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399–400.]

j > z.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *z* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kāśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbanīśī and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāśm. *zēō*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jala* 'water,' Ass., Kāśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *zal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jivāhy*, Phl. *švas-tanō*, New Pers. *zistan*, Kāš. *vasandō*, *jiga*, Afy. *švand(an)*,

Kurd. *šin*, *šīn*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *san*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtanī *vēsār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *sufar*, *safr*, New Pers. *karf*, Judæo-Pers. *sōrf*, Afy. *kavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *šōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

j > *š*.

§ 186. The change of *j* to *š*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sīv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *šan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *šanikō*, Sarq. *šin*, *γīn*, Minj. *šinga*, Kurd. *šin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afy. *švand(ān)*, Kurd. *šīn*, *šin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *karf*, Afy. *kavar*, Kurd. *šōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāš*, Kurd. *dirāš*.

Syncope of j.

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt., Pāli *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

jh = *jh*.

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēmp*.

jh > *j*.

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jāina Prāk. *jalla*.

jh > *z*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *z* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kāśmīrī is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *zal*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindī *jhal*.

ṭ = *ṭ*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *truṭati* 'comes apart,' Prāk. *tuṭṭai*, *tōḍai*, Uṛ. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍāitē*, Sindhī *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭavum*, *tōḍavum*, Mar. *tuṭanēm*, *tōdanēm*. Skt. *kapāta* 'door,' Prāk. *kapāta*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√c(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects *√chuṭ*, but also Hindī *chōr*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

ṭ > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *r* and this *r* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavī* 'forest,' Apab. Prāk. *aḍai*, Pali *aṭavi*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prāk. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pali *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Pali *ghaṭa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kṛṣa* 'worm,' Prāk. *kṛḍa*, Pali *kṛṣa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kṛḍā*, Sindhī *kṛḍō*, Guj. *kṛḍō*, Mar. *kṛḍ*, *kṛḍā*, Gyp. *kiri*. Skt., Pali *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Uṛ. *karaṭ*, *kahrāṭ*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āi)*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kaḍāhi*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhai*, Sinh. *kulāva*.

ṭ > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prāk. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭika*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayadhā*, Śaur. Prāk. *saadhā*, Pāli *sakaṭa*. Skt. *kāiṭabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēdhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* 'arena,' E. Hindi *akhārḥ*, Hindi *akhārā*, Mar. *akhāḍā*.

$\ddot{t} > t$.

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian \ddot{t} to t occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāli. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

$\ddot{t} > p$.

§ 195. The change of \ddot{t} to p is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṭi* 'pot,' Pāli *kalōpi*.

$\ddot{t} > r$.

§ 196. The change of \ddot{t} to r (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' U_r. *karāi*, *kahrāi*, *kaḍḍhei*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

$\ddot{t} > l$.

§ 197. The change of \ddot{t} to l is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiḥa*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* 'crab,' Jaina Prāk. *kak-kaḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Sinh. *kakuluvā*, *kakuluvā*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Sinh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, U_r. *cēlā*, Bang. *cēlā*, Hindi *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

$\ddot{t} > \underline{l}$.

§ 198. The change of \ddot{t} to \underline{l} occurs especially in Sinhalese, where l and \underline{l} are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between l and \underline{l} .

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kuḍa*, Pāli *kūṭa*, Sinh. *kulu*. Skt. *sphōṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuṭṭat*, *phuḍat*, Pāli

phuṭati, Hindī *phūṭ*, Panj. *phuṭṭ*, other New Ind. dialects *phuṭ*, except Simh. *polanavā*.

ṭh = ṭh.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prāk. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhī*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

ṭh > ṭ.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kudhāra*, Pāli *kūṭhārī*, Uṛ. *kuṭārī*, *kuhrari*, *kuṭādī*, Bang. *kurhīd*, *kurhādī*, Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī*, *kuhādā*, Panj. *kuhādā*, *kumthārā*, *kulhādā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhāi*, *kurhār*.

ṭh > ḍ.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *pimḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Sindhī *pēḍahī*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, Mar. *pāṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Uṛ. *padhibā*, Bang. *padhite*, Hindī, Panj. *padhanā*, Sindhī *paḍahanu*, Guj. *paḍhavum*, Mar. *padhanēm*.

ṭh > ḍh.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kūṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kudhāra*, Bang. *kurhīd*, *kurhādī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *paḍhaṭ*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. ✓ *parh*, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

ṭh > ṛh, rh.

§ 203. The change of *ṭh* to *ṛh*, *rh*, is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of *ṭh* to *ḍh*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kuṛhād*, *kuṛhādī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *parh*, *padh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṭh > ll.

§ 204. The change of *ṭh* to *ll* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *anḱōṭha*, *anḱōl(l)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *amkolla*, Pāli *amkōla*, Guj., Mar. *amkōl*.

ṭh > lh.

§ 205. The change of *ṭh* to *lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuḥārī*, *kuḥādā*, Panj. *kuḥādā*, *kumlhārā*, *kuḥādā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kuṭhara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kuḍhalē*, Bihārī *kōlhu*.

ṭh > h.

§ 206. The change of *ṭh* to *h* is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuḥādā*, *kuḥārī*, Panj. *kuḥādā*, *kuḥādā*, *kumlhārā*, Sindhi, Guj. *kuḥārō*, etc. (see § 200).

ṭh > hr.

§ 207. The change of *ṭh* to *hr* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Ur. *kuhrāri*, *kuṭāḍī*, *kuṭārī*, etc. (see § 200).

ḍ = ḍ.

§ 208. Indian *ḍ* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīḷaṇa*, *pellana*, Pāli *pīḷana*, Hindī *peḍanā*, *pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā*, *pēlanā*, *velanā*, Sindhi *pīḍaṇu*, *pīṛaṇu*, Mar. *pīḷaṇēm*.

$\check{d} > \check{t}$.

§ 209. The change of \check{d} to \check{t} occurs regularly in the Pāṣaṭi Prākṛit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiṣa*, *baḍiṣa* 'fish-hook,' Prāk. *baḍiṣa*, *balisa*, Pāṣ. Prāk. *vaṭiṣa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindi *balia*.

$\check{d} > d$.

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian \check{d} occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. $\sqrt{\text{dāp}}$ 'to collect,' Uṛ. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindi *dābanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbaṇā*, Sindhi *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābaruṇ*, Mar. *dabanēm*.

$\check{d} > \check{r}, r$.

§ 211. The change of \check{d} to \check{r}, r , is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an \check{r} developed from an original \check{d} may often become r , and indeed in Hindi \check{r} and r are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however, \check{d} is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes \check{r}, r (cf. §§ 202, 203).

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhi *pīraṇu*, *pīḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *ulumpa*, Sinh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

$\check{d} > l$.

§ 212. The change of \check{d} to l is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian \check{d} is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālīma*, Prāk. *ḍālīma*, Pāli *dālīma*, Hindi *dārīm*, Sindhi *ḍārḥūm*. Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlāṭ*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīlāti*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *sōḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōraha*, Kāśm. *surāh*, Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhi *sōrahaṁ*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*.

$\check{d} > \check{l}$.

§ 213. The change of \check{d} to \check{l} , which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *pīḷaṇēm*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōḷaiḥ*, Guj. *kōḷō*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *soḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *soḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, Panj. *sōḷām*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōḷā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\dot{d}h > r h$.

§ 214. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to $r h$ is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 203, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *mūrhu*.

$\dot{d}h > r$.

§ 215. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to r occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *mūḍhattaṇa*, Hindi *mūrakhapan*, Panj. *mūrakhapunā*.

$\dot{d}h > l, lh$.

§ 216. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to l, lh , is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulār*, Hindi *dulhā*. Skt. *udāḍhā* 'bride,' Hindi *dulhin*, Guj. *dulāhī*.

$\dot{d}h > l, lh$.

§ 217. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to l, lh , is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pāli *ḍaḷha*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

$\eta > n$.

§ 218. The change of η to n is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāṣāṇī Prākṛit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇaganayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāṣ. Prāk. *gunaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bāmhaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*.

$\eta > l, l$.

§ 219. The change of η to l, l , is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prāk. *vāṇi(j)a*, Sinh. *velamḍā*, *veṇamḍa*.

$t = t$.

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmṭh*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōmḍ*, Guj. *duṇḍ*, Mar. *tōmḍā*, *tuṇḍ*, *tund*, *dōmḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pāli *jōti*, Hindī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *udu* (Śaur. and Māg.), *uu*, *riu*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutū*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl., New Pers. *tan*, Wāxī *tan*, Šīyn. *tana*, Afy. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šīyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidita* 'seen,' Phl. *dītō*, New Pers. *didah*, Bal. *dita*, Kurd. *dīt*.

$t > i$.

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *ð*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaṭak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šīyn. *ēd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yayn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gīl. *brār*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

$t > g$.

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. *(ā)taš*, *ā“š*,

Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*.

$t > c$.

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhaṣ*, *ṭhāi* (cf. also *ciṭṭhitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pālī *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, Uṛ. *cidā*, *thāē*, Hindī, Panj. *thē*, Sindhī *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēm*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kaśmīrī under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kaśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *mūč* < **moti*.]

$t > ṭ$.

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt., Pālī *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' Uṛ., Bang. *ṭika*, Hindī *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhī *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭilī*, *ṭilō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pālī *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Uṛ., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbum*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Sinh. *tāmbara*.

$t > ṭh$.

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṁth*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *ṛṭti* 'business,' Prāk. *vaṭṭi*, Sindhī *vaṭhi*.

$t > ḍ$.

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍaṣ*, Pālī *patati*, Uṛ. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍaṇā*, Hindī *paraṇā*, Sindhī *pavaṇu*, Guj. *paḍavum*, Mar. *paḍaṇēm*, *paraṇēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jaina Prāk. *paḍagā*, Pālī *patākā*. Skt. *takṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhī *ḍakhaṇu*.

$t > th, \theta$.

§ 227. The change of t to th, θ , is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of t to θ according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting th developed from t in North Balūcī and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *trpyati* 'rejoices,' Prāk. *thippai*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tabad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvūn*, Wāxī *θavam*, Šīyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsīdan*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay*, *trusag*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāt*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dāθa*, *dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ*, *brūs*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > d$.

§ 228. The change of the tenuis t to the media d is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tataḥ* 'thence,' Māhār. Prāk. *tattō*, Śāur. Prāk. *tadō*, Apab. Prāk. *daū*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śāur. Prāk. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śāur., Māg. Prāk. *gaḍē*, Pāis. Prāk. *gata*, Apab. Prāk. *gaḍu*, Pāli *gata*, Sinh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *krta* 'done,' Māg. Prāk. *kaḍē*, *kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindī *kīya*, Bihārī *kaṭl*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prāk. *ua*, Pāli *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prāk. *dē*, *tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāf*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vad*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vad*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Oss. *vād*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vṛōd*, Sangl. *vurā*, Kurd. *virād*, *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl.

vēṭ, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vid*, Sīv. *vī*, Zaf. *vē*, Vön. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *valā*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

$t > y$.

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Māhār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Sīv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vön. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, Šiyn. *mad*, Minj. *māyā*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pi*, *payi*, Šiyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

$t > r$.

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *d*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pāli *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāsm. *satat*, Ur. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satari*, Guj. *sitēr*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > l$.

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afyān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *kāl*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afy. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > v$.

§ 232. The change of t to v is only apparent, v being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an inter-vocalic t (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pāli *ātāpa*, Sinh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Pāli *mātar*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māu*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Eḷu *mava*, Sinh. *ma(vu)*, *mā*.

$t > s$.

§ 233. The change of t to s is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese and North Balūci.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāṭa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṭ*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > h$.

§ 234. The change of t to h is very rare, excepting in Sinhalese, where the h is a further development of the s arising from an original t (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *his*, *sis*.

Syncope of t.

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian t is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūtṭha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *sayā*, Pāli. Prāk. *sata*, Pāli *sata*, Kāśm. *hath*, Uṛ. *śaē*, Bang.

śaya, Bihārī *śāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prāk. *piā*, Pali *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piū*, Sindhī *piu*, Sinh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Sinh. *mā*, *ma(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tal. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *zūt*, New Pers. *zūd*, Māz. *zī*, Tal. *Tāt zū*, Bal. *zūt*, *zīt*, N. Bal. *zīθ*, Kurd. *zū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afy. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

Epenthesis of t.

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istīr*, *asr*.

th = th.

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māṭhā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhī *mathaṇu*, Guj. *mathavūm*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(n)thaṇēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prāk. *jūha*, Pali *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afy. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šiyn. *yaθ*, Yayn. *γūt(ah)*, Afy. *yul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjun*, Tag. *thinjin*.

th > ṭh.

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindi, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Sinh. *palamu*.

th > ḍh.

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śithila* 'slack,' Prāk. *sidhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindi *dhilā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhilum*, Mar. *ḍhilā*. Skt. *mēṭhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhi*, *mēḍhā*.

th > t.

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraṭhanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maṭhāna* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

th > ḍh.

§ 241. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śāur., Pāis. Prāk. *adha*, Pāli *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śāur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pāli *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pāli *vēdhati*.

th > y.

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pāli *ratha*, Sinh. *riya*.

th > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afyān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afy. *plan*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

th > *l̥*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *l̥* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Sinh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

th > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavaṛi*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khālsi *ahō*, Pāli *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahaṇa*, Pāli *kathana*, Uṛ. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindi *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhi *kahanu*, Guj. *kēhavum*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindi, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pāli *gāthā*, Old Hindi *gāhā*, Sindhi *gāḥ*. Skt. *prth(i)vi* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavi*, *puhuvī*, *puḍhavi*, Pāli *pathavi*, *puthavi*, *puthuvī*, *paṭhavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanqm* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

d = *d̥*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d̥* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasa*, Śaur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *daha*, Uṛ. Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhī *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pāli *dasati*, Uṛ. *damkibā*, *damś*, Bang. *damś*, *ḍamś(ā)*, Hindī *dams(ak)*, *ḍāmik*, Sindhī *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *damś*, *ḍamcaṇēm*, *damkhaṇēm*, *ḍasaṇēm*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prak. *jaṣ*, Jaina Prak. *jati*, Pāli *yadi*, Hindī *jad*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhī *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dim*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *paḍ*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*.

d > *i*.

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ḍ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

d > *kh*, *x*.

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. **ni* + √*dub* 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihuftan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

d > *g*.

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'good for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

d > *jh*.

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prak. *ḍhi(y)ā*, Śaur. Prak.

dhadā, dhīdā, Pali *dhītā, dhītara*, Ass. *ji*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhi*, Hindi, Panj. *dhi(yā)*, Sindhi *dhiu, dhiy*, Guj. *dhi(yā)*.

$\bar{d} > \bar{d}$.

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian \bar{d} is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prāk. *ḍahaī*, Pali *ḍahati*, Hindi *ḍāh, dāh*, Sindhi *ḍah*. Skt. **hṛdaka* 'heart,' Māg. Prāk. *hadakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jaina Prāk. *ḍūya*, Pali *ḍūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍāmś(ā)*, *damś*, Hindi *ḍāmik, damś(ak)*, Sindhi *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *ḍāmcaṇēm, ḍasaṇēm, damkhaṇēm, damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pali *pavāda*, Hindi, Sindhi *pavār*, Guj. *pavāḍ*, Mar. *pavāḍā*. Skt. *dōlā* 'swing,' Prāk. *ḍolā*, Pali *dōlā*, Bihārī *ḍōr, dōr*, Hindi *ḍol(ā), ḍōlī, dōl(ā), dōlik*, Panj., Sindhi *ḍōlī*, Guj. *ḍōī, ḍōlavum*, Mar. *ḍōlā, ḍōlī, dōlā, dōlī*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

$\bar{d} > t$.

§ 252. The change of the voiced \bar{d} to the voiceless t is regular in the Pāisāci Prākrit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāis. Prāk. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāis. Prāk. *patēsa*, Pali *padēsa*. Skt. *yadī* 'if,' Jaina Prāk. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

$\bar{d} > th$.

§ 253. The change of \bar{d} to th occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dātanō*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādia*, Gil. *fandi*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxī *radān*, Šiyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *dām*, Afy. *lal*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēay*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darāzqōš* 'hare, donkey').

$\bar{d} > \bar{d}h, \bar{d}$.

§ 254. The aspirization of an original \bar{d} is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *d* to *ð* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śaur. Prāk. *dhūdā*, *dhūdā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhītara*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhi *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *dr̥m̐hita* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *dhaniya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šīyn. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *des*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Wāxī *radān*, Šīyn. *diam*, Sarq. *dām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Wāxī *pūd*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pað*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *xʷaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *xʷedē*, *xʷaī*, New Pers. *xʷai*, Wāxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaið*, Afy. *xʷalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēð*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

d > *n*.

§ 255. The change of *d* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdahum*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

d > *y*.

§ 256. The change of *d* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prāk. *khāya*, Māhār. Prāk. *khāya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādhā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaya*, *hīaa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hīām*, Sindhi *himumu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilō. Skt. *ādēsa* 'order,' Pāli *ādēsa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āēsu*, *āyasu*, *āisu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prāk. *pāa*, Māhār. Prāk. *pāda*, Hindī *pā(m)v*, Panj. *pā(m)v*, *pāūm*, Simh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.

xaīn. Phl. *xqdu(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayū*, *xadu*. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šiyn., Sarq. *vāyām*, Kurd. *bāhv*, *baṭv*.

$d > r$.

§ 257. The change of d to r is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tādrśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa*, Pāis. Prāk. *tātisa*, Pāli *tādisa*. Skt. *etādrśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa*, *ēārisa*, Pāli *ērisa*, *ēdisa*. Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkarasa*, *ēkadasa*, Kāsm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

$d > l$.

§ 258. The change of d to l is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba*. Skt. *pradīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva*, *palitta*, Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya*, Jāina Prāk. *palitta*, Bihārī *palit*. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *ḍōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, Pāli *dōhala*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxī *las*, *das*, Šiyn. *lis*, *ḍis*, Yidg. *lus*, Afy. *las*, etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Afy. *pal*, etc. (see § 246). Phl. *xʷatāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiyn., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*, Mukri *xola*. Av. *fraṣgaḍaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *ṣyali*.

$d > l$.

§ 259. The change of d to l is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *ḍōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, *dōhala*, Pāli *dōhala*.

$d > v$.

§ 260. The change of d to v is only apparent, v being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original

intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karalī*, *kayalī*, *kēlī*, Pāli *kadalī*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhi *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍō*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

d > *h*.

§ 261. The change of *d* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' U_r. *pāhī*, Bang. *pāi*, Hindī *pāi*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhiv*, *baiv*, etc. (see § 256).

Syncope of d.

§ 262. The syncope of Indo-Iranian *d* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *d* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēlī*, *kayalī*, *karalī*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhi *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādāna* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pāli *khādāna*, U_r. *khārbā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khānā*, Sindhi *khāṇu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khāṇēm*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *saraa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhi *saraū*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *naḍāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gil. *nāramah*, but *badām* 'I give.' Skt. *pādika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

Epenthesis of d.

§ 263. The epenthesis of *d* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prāk. *paññaraha*, Pāli *pañcadasa*, Kāśm. *pandāh*, Uṛ. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōñera*, Bihārī *pandarah*, Hindī *paṁdrah*, Panj. *paṁdarām*, Sindhī *paṁdraham*, *paṁdhrām*, Guj. *paṁdar*, Mar. *paṁdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānakī*.

dh = *dh*.

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prāk., Pāli *dhavala*, Uṛ., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Uṛ., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindī *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pāli *khudā*, Hindī *khudhā*, Panj. *khuddhiā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoiði* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxī *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*.

dh > *ḍ*.

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhitṭha*, *ḍhatṭha*, Nāip. *dhūmtā*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, Sindhī *ḍīthu*.

dh > *ḍh*.

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhitṭha*, *ḍhatṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *√dhakk* 'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkaṣ*, Uṛ. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāmkanā*, Bang. *ḍhakitē*, Hindī *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *ḍhakḱā*, Sindhī *ḍhakanu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāmkanum*, Mar. *dhāmkanēm*.

dh > *t*.

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *ḍharay*, Pāli *dhāretī*, Siṁh. *terenavā*, *daranava*, Gyp. *√ther*.

dh > *d*.

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharma* 'virtue,' Prāk., Pāli *dhamma*, Kāśm. *daram*, Elu *daham*, Sinh. *dam*. Skt. *dhattūra* 'thorn-apple,' Kāśm. *dattur*, Uṛ. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dhatūrā*, Sindhī *dhātūrō*, Guj. *dhatūrō*, Mar. *dhatūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahu*, Pāli *madhu*, Hindī *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhī *madu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhamati* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *bh*.

§ 269. The change of *dh* to *bh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sannirundhati* 'impedes,' Pāli *sannirunbhati*, *sannirunhati*.

dh > *y*.

§ 270. The change of *dh* to *y* is only apparent, *y* being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *dh* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahura*, Pāli *madhura*, Sinh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *mađu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

dh > *l*.

§ 271. The change of *dh* to *l* is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *grhagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pāli *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Wāxi *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *v*.

§ 272. The change of *dh* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of *dh* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tulādhāra* 'balance-holding,' Sinh. *tulavaru*.

dh > *h*.

§ 273. The change of *dh* to *h* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *auśadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ōsaha*, *ōsaḍha*, Pāli *ōsadhi*. Skt. *sādhū* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pāli *sādhū*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhī *sāu*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pāli *badhira*, Uṛ. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindī *bahirā*, Sindhī *bōrō*, *bōḍō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Sinh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gāhum*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(m)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *ba(h)ū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

Syncope of dh.

§ 274. The loss of *dh* occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Uṛ. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindī *ghēum*, *gēhum*, *gō(m)hum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīa*, *vīga*, *bivā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaĵ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

n = *n*.

§ 275. Indo-Iranian *n* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original *n* is usually cerebralized to *ṇ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav*, *nav*. Skt. *nāmayati* 'bows,' Prāk. *nāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, Uṛ. *numāi*, Bang. *nām*, *nuya*, Hindi *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhi *namvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *sināna*, *nāhāna*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāunā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxi *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šiyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *niar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō*, *nav*, Šiyn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *nau*, *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, *šan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *šanikō*, Šiyn. *yin*, Sarq. *yin*, *šin*, Minj. *šinga*, Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *šin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$.

§ 276. The change of *n* to \hat{n} is confined to the Sindhi, which alone preserves *n*, \hat{n} , pronounced *ng* and *n̄* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindi *thān*, Panj. *than*, Sindhi *thaṇu*, *thanu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindi *mannā*, Sindhi *maṇaṇu*.

$n > \eta$.

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to η throughout the Prākrits (*nō ṇaḥ sarvatra*, cf. Pischel on Hēmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacāṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *vayaṇa*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gāthā *khaṇet*. Skt. *dhenu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēnu*, Pāli *dhenu*, Sindhī *dhēnu*.

$n > b$.

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baynag*.

$n > m$.

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bān*, *bām*, Siv. *bān*, Kāś. *bū(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt *sarbu*, Afy. *bām*, Kurd. *bān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

$n > r$.

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāiraṇjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nēraṇjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāu*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thamī*, Ur. *thāṇā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Bihārī *ṭhāu(m)*, *thā(m)v*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thān*, *ṭhān*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Sinh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$.

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Sinhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *lim*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōṇī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kāśm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Sinh. *val*, Maladive *vali*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Sinh. *lā*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jal*, *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc.

(see § 275). Skt. *navaka* 'youth,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

$n > \bar{l}$.

§ 282. The change of *n* to \bar{l} is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pali *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maladive *vali*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n > v$.

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivil*, *bēn*.

Syncope of *n*.

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after ong vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāu*, *ṭhānu*, Bihārī *ṭhāu(m)*, *thā(m)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārin*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Sīv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pasīn* 'hinder,' Kurd. *pašī*.

Prothesis of *n*.

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *ānīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *ānah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āzīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Epenthesis of *n*.

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hazanra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hasār*, Afy. *zar*, Zaza *hanzār*.

$p = p$.

§ 287. Indo-Iranian p is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē*, Kāśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindi *pachē*, *pīchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Simh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , *pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Ur. *tipibā*, Bang. *chāpītē*, *cāpītē*, *ṭēpītē*, Hindi *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭipanā*, *ṭhapanā*, Sindhi *chāpaṇu*, *cāpaṇu*, *ṭapudaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭa-nēm*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Ind. (first) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pāli *japana* 'muttering,' Hindi *ja(m)panā*, Mar. *jāpanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxi *pūd*, Šiyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pad*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Šiv. *av*, *au*, Yazdi *vō*, Kāš. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxi *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovv*, Yayn. *āp*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$p > k$.

§ 288. The change of p to k is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika* (by dissimilation).

$p > ph, f$.

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original p is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects p becomes f (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūči, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paruṣa* 'rough,' Pāli *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phālihadda*, Pāli *phālibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindī *puhupa*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phul*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Ur. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhī *phāsi*, *phāhi*, Guj., Mar. *phāms*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pašet*, New Pers. *pašad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phaṣay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afy. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *far*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thaf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāk*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tāl. *šav*, Tāt *šū*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*.

p > *b*.

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pāli *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prāk. *nābida*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *apāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāḍa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pi*, *avi*, Pāli (a)*pi*, Sindhī *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *thāvēi*, Pāli *thāpeti*, Ur. *thwibā*, Bang. *thāttz*, Hindī, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāparum*, Mar. *thāpanēm*, Sinh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōt(ar)*, New Pers. *kabutar*, Wāxi *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuwā*, Afy. *kautar*,

kavntar, Bal. *kapōt*, *koṭar*, Kurd. *kavōk*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šīyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Afy. *ōba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *rūwās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*.

$p > m$.

§ 291. The change of *p* to *m* is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nīma*, *nīva*, Pālī *nīpa*. Skt. *āpīḍa* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēḍa*. Skt. *punaḥ* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shāhbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pālī *pana*, Bihārī *phīn*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pālī *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pālī *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kañchū*. Skt. *sapādika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāṇa*, Ur. *satīyāṛ*, Bang. *satīyā*, Hindī *savā*, W. Hindī *samā*, Panj. *savā(ṛā)*, Sindhī *savāṛ*, Guj. *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

$p > y$.

§ 292. The change of *p* to *y*, which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pālī *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindī *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

$p > v$.

§ 293. The change of *p* to *v* is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian *p* is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of *p* to *b* and of *b* to *v* noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pālī *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pālī *pāpa*, Kāśm. *pāph*, Sinh. *paru*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhāa*,

ujjhāa, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (a) *bar*, Wāxi, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zāf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liyū*, Wāxi, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gīl. *Tāl*, Tāt *ōv*, Yidg. *yovv*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapiñjar*, N. Bal. *khawinjar*.

Syncope of *p*.

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prāk. *ajjaṭṭa*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāsm. *khuk*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(m)ām*, Sindhī *khahu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Ur. *kaṭṭa*, Hindī *kaṭṭhabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *āp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

ph = *ph*.

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhī *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxi *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xafa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *saḥa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, Oss. *safihag*.

ph > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūči, where intervocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūči has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phaḍiṅga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṅga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli **phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfay*, Kurd. *kūh*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afy. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prāk. *rēbha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prāk. *sabhala*, Apab. Prāk. *sahalu*, Pāli *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pāli *saphari*, Hindi *saharī*, Panj. *sauḷ*.

ph > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kūh*, but *kōvī* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

ph > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindi *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).

Syncope of ph.

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

- a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *saṭṭ*, etc. (s. § 298).

Epenthesis of ph, f.

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

- b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciu*.

$$b = b.$$

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *badhnati* 'binds,' Prāk. *baṇḍhaṭ*, Pāli *baṇḍhati*, Hindi *bāṇḍh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhi *bāṇḍh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhaṭ*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kāśm. *saṃjhādi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *būjhana*, Hindi *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhi *bujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujavum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxšaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baxšidan*, Afy. *bašal*, *baxal*, Bal. *bakšay*, N. Bal. *baškay*, Kurd. *baxšin*. Av. *bərəz* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*.

$$b > p.$$

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bādha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhauli) *pādha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bādha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

$$b > bh.$$

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

- a. Indian. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi*.

$$b > m.$$

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brūhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūdi*).

a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara*, *sabara*. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamandha*, *kayamandha*.

b > *y*.

§ 307. The change of *b* to *y*, which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 133, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayam̐dha*, *kamam̐dha*.

b > *v*.

§ 308. The change of *b* to *v* is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused *b* and *v* that Vararuci writes *v* for *b* throughout. The New Indian dialects use *v* almost to the exclusion of *b* in the East, Hindī reverses this, writing every *v* as *b*, Panjābī uses *b* and *v* indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śāur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pāli *bappa*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *ḃāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pāli *vaṁjjhā*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, Sindhī *vāṁjh*, Marvarī *bāṁjhaḍī*, Guj. *vāṁjham*, Mar. *vāṁjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxī *buc*, *būc*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afy. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

Syncope of b.

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic *b* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piāi*, Pāli *pibati*, Sinh. *bonavā*, caus. *povanavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

Epenthesis of b.

§ 310. The epenthesis of *b* is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of *m*.

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,

New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl. New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *ðum*, *ðumbā*, Afy. *lam*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rūm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

bh = *bh*.

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prak. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prak., Pāli *bhūmi* 'earth,' Ur. *bhūma*, *bhūrim*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindi *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhūrim*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūm*, *bhūrim*, *bhōrim*, Sindhi *bhū(im)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

bh > *kh*, *x*.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šīyn., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Boxtanī *tāv*.

bh > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiwirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *urnavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmūn*, Wāxī *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afy. *ōdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafay*, Oss. *vafin*.

bh > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,' Prak. *bhañi*, *bahinī*, Pāli *bhagini*, Kāśm. *byaṇ*, Ur. *bhāuñi*, *bhañi*, Bang. *bañ*, Hindi

bahin, Panj. *ḡhāiṇ*, *bāinh*, Sindhi *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahin*, Gyp. *phen*.

bh > m.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bhaṅgā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *banha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afy. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfay*, Kurd. *nāv*.

bh > mh.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇaī*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

bh > v.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

bh > h.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Ur., Bang. *hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindi, Panj. *hōmḍi*, Sindhi *hamḍi*, Guj. *hāmḍi*, Mar. *hāmḍi*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahai*, Pāli *labhati*, Ur. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindi *laha*, Hindi *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lai*, Sindhi *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvaī*, *bhavaī*, Pāli. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śaur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Ur. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindi *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhi *huanu*, Guj. *hōvum*, Mar. *hōṇēm*.

m = m.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

māj, Kaśm. *maṃz*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *mājhi*, *maṃjhōlā*, Panj. *māmjh*, *mājjh*, Sindhī *maṃjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Siṃh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Ur. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muiā*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muṃm*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Siṃh. *malā*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pāli *khamā*, Hindī *chimā*, Panj., Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamañēm*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gāū*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *malung*, Šiyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *maḍān*, Afy. *mañj*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərəta* 'dead,' Phl. *marṭ* 'mortal,' New Pers. *mard*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *žimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Gīl. *nōm*, Wāxī *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, plur. *namththa*, Tag. *nom*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, So Kurd. *yūma*.

m > n.

§ 320. The change of *m* to *n* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Dig. Oss. *non*, but plur. *namththa*, etc. (see preceding §).

m > ɲg.

§ 321. The change of *m* to *ɲg* occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Wāxī *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

m > ph, f.

§ 322. The change of *m* to *ph, f* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dāman* 'bond,' New Pers. *dām*, Afy. *lām*, Kurd. *daf*.

$m > b$.

§ 323. The change of m to b is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *mūṃṣ*, Uṛ. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhaiṃs*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāiṃs*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāiṃs*, *mhāiṃs*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhī *maṃjh*, *māmhi*, Guj. *bhēṃs*, *bhāiṃs*, *bhāiṃh*, Mar. *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < **manurama-ka*, Sinh. *munuburu* ($m > b$ by dissimilation).

$m > v$.

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of m to v is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivamṇu*, *ahimamṇu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *mīmāṃs* 'investigating,' Pāli *vīvāṃs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmālaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmalā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindī, Panj. *āmvalā*, Sindhī *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāmvar*, Hindī *sāmvalā*, W. Hindī *sāmvrāṭ*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhī *sāmvalu*, *sāmviru*, Mar. *sāmvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvī*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāṃ*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Sīv., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dēv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vazaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmāz* 'flight' beside *parvāz*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nīvēz*, *nvēš*, *nmēš*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afy. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmag*, Kurd. *nīv*.

$m > s$.

§ 325. The change of m to s is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

bhasana, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jaina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamāra*, Bang. *bhāmāra*, Bihārī *bhāumrā*, Hindī *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*, Panj. *bhamur*, Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

m > *m̐*.

§ 326. The change of *m* to *m̐* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nām*, Panj. *nāum*, Sindhī *nāhum*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, *bhūim*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhōim*, *bhūm*, Sindhī *bhūim*, *bhū*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōmā*, Bihārī *rōām*, *rōvam*, Hindī, Panj., *rōām*, Sindhī *lūm*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsām*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kāsm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūmām*, *dhūām*, Sindhī *duinhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Sinh. *dum*.

m > *m̐v*.

§ 327. The change of *m* to *m̐v* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nām̐v*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kumar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kumvar*, Panj. *kan̐var*, Mar. *kum̐var*.

Syncope of m.

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kahām*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇi*, *dāṇim*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions

hidālōkika 'temporal,' Skt., Pāli *nēmi* 'circumference,' U_r. *nia*, Bang. *nēō*, E. Hindi, Hindi *nēv*, Panj. *niun*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prāk. *cāmara*, Pāli *cāmara*, U_r. *camara*, Bang. *cāumr*, *camarā*, Hindi *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhi *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurī*, Mar. *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhūām*, Hindi, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhū-mām*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prāk., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindi *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāunā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gādumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *ganṭum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxī *yidim*, Šiyn. *zindam*, Sarq. *zandam*, *zandum*, Sangl., Minj. *yandam*, Yidg. *yadum*, Afy. *yanum*, Bal. *gandim*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanim*.

Epenthesis of m, m̐.

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *m̐*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jaina Prāk. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prāk. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāsm. *mūms̐*, Bang. *bhaiṃs*, Bihārī *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindi *bhāiṃs*, *mhāiṃs*, Sindhi *manjh*, *māmhi*, Guj. *bhēms*, *bhaiṃs*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāsm. *khuh*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *kūmām*, *kūām*, Sindhi *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhī*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, U_r. *chāhina*, Bihārī *chām̐h*, Hindi *chām*, *chamv*, *chām̐h*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāūm*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prāk. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Sirh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lajjā* 'modesty,' U_r., Old Bang., Hindi *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhi *lāj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Sirh. *lamda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *prḍāku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *prāng*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Afy. *nmunj*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gvams*, *gvabs*. New Pers.

pōs 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūs*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōsa*, *paza*, Bal. *pōnz*, *pōz*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, *phōz*, Kurd. *pūs*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋg*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 3 s. pres. *hūmbēt*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihunbidan*, Kurd. *nixiftin*.

y = y.

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'fuit,' Sindhi *yabhanu*. Skt., Prak., Pali *dayālu* 'merciful,' Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dayāl(u)*, Sindhi *ḍayālu*, Guj., Mar. *dayāl(u)*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prak. *hia(y)a*, Pāiś. Prak. *hitaaka*, Pali *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhi *himānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (*y*)*ilo*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Bal. *jōy*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Siv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kaš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yangj*, Yayn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *zayand*, New Pers. *zayad*, Afy. *zēzī*, Bal. *zāyag*, N. Bal. *zāy*, Kurd. *zāin*, Oss. *zayi*.

y > j.

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uṛiya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindi and Panjabī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhi, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 308). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afyān, Balūcī, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pāli *ya*, Uṛ., Bang. *jē*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *yogga*, Pāli *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jōbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pāli *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, Uṛ. *jēṭhā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindī *jahāni*, Panj. *jithē*, Sindhī *jiti*, Guj. *jāmham*, Mar. *jēthēm*, *jithē*. Skt., Pāli *yāna* 'vehicle,' Uṛ. *jibā*, Bang. *jāṭē*, Hindī *jānā*, Panj. *jāṇā*, Guj. *javum*, Mar. *yāṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuviyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

y > b.

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pāli *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyu* 'uterus,' Pāli *jalābu*, Sinh. *dalabu*.

y > bh.

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarāyu* name of a river, Pāli *sarabhu*.

y > r.

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmaṇya* 'novice,' Pāli *sāmaṇera*. Skt. *snāyu* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *ṇhāru*, Pāli *nahāru*, Sinh. *naharaya*.

y > l.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *laṭhi*, Hindī *laṭ(ṛ)*, *laṭhi*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhī *laṭhi*, Guj. *lāt*, *laṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtāyati* 'illuminates,' Pāli

jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu*, etc.).

y > v.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *migava*. Skt. *trayas-trimśat* 'thirty-three,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *tavattisa*, Kaśm. *tyaya-trah*, Bihārī *tāimtis*, cf. archaic Sinh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āuha*, Pāis. Prāk. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Sinh. *avi(ya)*.

y > h.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindī *chāmḥ, chām(v), chāōm*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*. Skt. *raṇaṇ-jaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇaṇjaha*. Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati*.

Apocope of *y*.

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ūkā*, Hindī *jūm*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuṣmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xsmāka*, YAv. *yuṣmākəm*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

Syncope of *y*.

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalāya* 'sprout,' Prāk. *kisala, kisalaya*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hīaa, hiaya*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiāum, hiyām*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāu*, Pāli *vāyu*, Uṛ. *bōa*, Bang., Hindī *bāṅ, bāō*, Panj. *vāu*, Sindhī *bāṅ, vāu*, Guj. *vā(ṅ)*, Mar. *vāv*. Skt. *dēva-*

laya 'temple,' Ur. *dēal*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhi *dēvali*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*.

Prothesis of y.

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prāk. *yēva*, Śāur. Prāk. *jevva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *āvīrbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvihottā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amīy*, New Pers. *am*, Afy. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

aya > *ā*.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pāli *abbhāna*. Skt., Pāli *udaya* 'rise,' Simh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā(b)*, *dārāv*.

aya > *ē*.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian: Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dhāreī*, Pāli *dhāreti*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śāur. Prāk. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *katheti*. Skt. *nayati* 'leads,' Prāk. *nēi*, Śāur. Prāk. *nēdi*, Pāli. Prāk. *nēti*, Pāli *nayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prāk., Pāli *khaya*, Hindi, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khā*. Skt.,

Prāk., Pali *bhaya* 'fear,' Ur. *bhē*, Hindi, Panj. *bhāi*, Sindhi *bhāi*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaṇṇa*, Pali *nayana*, Hindi, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhi *nēṇu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēm̐n*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *maṇṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pali *sayanāsana*, Sinh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parērī*, *pairērī* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairī*. Av. *zayeiti* 'is born,' Pāmir dialects *zīd*.

ayū > ō.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pali *mōra*, Kāsm., Ur. *mōr*, Sindhi *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

ayō > ē, āi.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē, āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsi), *trāidasa* (inscriptions of Girnar), Pali *tērasa*, Kāsm. *truvāh*, Ur. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindi *tērah*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

iya > ĩ.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ĩ* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyant* 'how much?' Pali *kittaka* < **kiyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī*.

āya > ā.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jaina Prāk., Pali *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upaṭṭhāyaka* 'servant,' Pali *upaṭṭhāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pali *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.

āya > *ē*

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prāk. *palāyai*, Pāli *paleti*.

āya > *aī*.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *aī* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsmun*, Tag. *axsnin* 'wash,' Tag. *naīn* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raīn*.

r = *r*.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prāk. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māg. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūlikapāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindī *rāu*, *rāv*, Sinh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuhurā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *rayan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(ih)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaž*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxi *stār*, Šiyn. *štarj*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustūrak*, Minj. *astāri*, Afy. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μαρτι-χόπα*, Phl. *xʷartānō*, New Pers. *xurda*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *xʷaram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afy. *xʷaral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *xʷarin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$.

§ 350. The change of r to j is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindi *pujna*, Sindhi *pujānu*.

$r > ḍh$.

§ 351. The change of r to $ḍh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabdha* 'beginning,' Prāk. *āḍhatta*, *āraddha*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > d$.

§ 352. The change of r to d is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pāli *purindada*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

$r > n$.

§ 353. The change of r to n is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Wāxi *vaḍūram*, Sarq. *ḍoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afy. *mangarai*.

$r > l$.

§ 354. The change of r to l is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian r is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhī Prākṛit r becomes l everywhere. Similarly in the Prākṛit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi, Bhabra, Sahasārām, and Bairāt r becomes l throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth r occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratnī* 'night,' Prāk. *rattī*, *rāi*, Māg. Prāk. *lattī*, Pāli *rattī*, Ur., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *rāṭ*, Sindhi *rāṭī*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *carāṇa* 'foot,' Prāk. *calaṇa*, Śaur. Prāk. also *carāṇa*, Apab. Prāk. *calaṇu*, Paś. Prāk. *calaṇa*, Pāli *carāṇa*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prāk., Pāli *hālidda*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pāli *paligha*. Skt. *reḥju* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindi *lējurī*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Prāk. *cattālisa*,

cālisa, Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattarisa*, Kāśm. *čatajih*, Uṛ. *cālisa*, Bang. *callisa*, Bihārī *calis*, Hindi *cālis*, Panj. *cali*, Sindhi *cālih*, Guj., Mar. *cālis*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *račcayaṣ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēxtanō*, Pāz. *rēšed*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētmān*, Vōn. *rētan*, Wāxi *varicam*, Sarq. *varaizam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rīšay*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Oss. *leḡun*, Tag. *liḡin*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārak*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāš. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sūlāx*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *malḡig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > l$

§ 355. The change of *r* to *l* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *iṅgālā*, Pāli *aṅgāra*, Guj. *iṅgārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *iṅgāl(ā)*, *iṅgōl*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattārisa*, Panj. *cali*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. (*h*)*alu*, Maladive *hulu*.

Syncope of *r*.

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prāk. *palē*, Apab. Prāk. *pāli*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārīta* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dōsarīta*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *agar* 'if,' Sīv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāš. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāš. *ba*, Vōn. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

ba. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *maī*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *mōr*, *māar*. Tal. *mū*, Šiyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afy. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mād*.

Epenthesis of r.

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* 'ten millions,' Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōr*, Hindī *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṭ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāštan*, Afy. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afy. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *ažē dahāk*, New Pers. *aždahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *aždarha*, *aždaha*.

$$l = l.$$

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubāla* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpaī*, Pāli *limpati*, Uṛ. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindī *lip*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhī *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaā*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmālā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindī *āmvalā*, Panj. *āulā*, Sindhī *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calaī*, Pāli *calati*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāl*, Hindī *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *cull*, Sindhī *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *cal*. Skt., Pāli *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhī *pīpiru*, Guj. *pīpal*, Mar. *pīmpal*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt *lov*, Wāxi *lav*, *lafe*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *liṣtanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *liṣtan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxi *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. *λείχω*, Lith. *lėsiù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *yar*, Afy. *yāra*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *kēla*).

$l > ḍ$.

§ 359. The change of *l* to *ḍ* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prāk. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tād*, *tār*.

$l > n$.

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uṛiya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṅgala*, *laṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Sinh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāsm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṇṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nuṭṭi*, Hindī *lūṭ*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhantī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambula* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmun*.

$l > r$.

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvara*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindī *pīpar*, Sindhī *pīpiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāmvar*, Hindī *sāmvalā*, W. Hindī *sāmvrātī*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhī *sāmviru*, *sāmvalu*, Mar. *sāmvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robās*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

l > *l̥*

§ 362. The change of *l* to *l̥* occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kālā*, Uṛ. *kalā*, Bang., Hindī *kālā*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhī *kārō*, Guj. *kālō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kaḷu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' Uṛ., Panj. *thal*, Sindhī *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' Uṛ. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindī *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhī *ṭil*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭal*.

Syncope of l.

§ 363. The syncope of an original *l* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kinṇulaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prāk. *kin-
culāḥ*, Bihārī *kēncuvā*, *kēncvā*. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṛilla*, Pāli *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (*k*)*khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pāli *khō*.

v = *v*.

§ 364. Indo-Iranian *v* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vattikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *vaṭī*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vr̥ścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vinchia*, *vinchua*, *vin̄cua*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Uṛ. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindī *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhī *bichūm*, *vinchū*, Guj. *vinchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *vin̄cū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Pāli *pavana*, Kāśm.

pāvan, Ur., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindi *patin*, Panj. *paṭiṇ*, Guj. *pōṇ*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prāk. *navim*, Pali *navuti*, Kāśm. *namath*, Ur. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbā*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindi, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhi *navē*, Guj. *nēvum*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcanəhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *varc*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāš., Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxi *liv*, Šiyn. *dīv*, Sarq. *dēv*.

$v > \check{u}$.

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to *ū* is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paṭṇa*, Hindi *patin*, *pavan*, Panj. *paṭiṇ*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prāk., Pali *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhi *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *dēl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vaināhy*, Phl. *vēnat*, New Pers. *bīnad*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *vinam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afy. *vinam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaʾn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *avivanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmitan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *ūmin*.

$v > k$.

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəda* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

$v > g$.

§ 367. The change of v to g occurs regularly before u in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vi̯tarata* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vi̯tārtanō*, New Pers. *guḏaštan*, Gab. *vadārta*, Vōn. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *baudarnādan*, Kurd. *buhūrtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vāhrka* 'wolf,' Phl., New Pers. *gurg*, Kāš. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yayn. *aurak*, Afy. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēray*, Tag. *bīray*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanō*, *gaštanō*, New Pers. *gāštan*, Gab. *vāštmūn*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *varəzyeiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaʃ*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. **vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. **vr* > Mid. Pers. **vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

$v > gh, \gamma$.

§ 368. The change of v to gh, γ , is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *γirsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

$v > gv$.

§ 369. The change of v to gv is regular initially before a -vowels in Balūci.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvas*.

$v > n$.

§ 370. The change of v to n is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninānabe* (assimilation).

$v > ph, f$.

§ 371. The change of v to ph, f , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

$v > b$.

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *svr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbut̥ṭhi*. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāsm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bā(m)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *ber*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāsm. *vār*, *vād*, Uṛ. *bēḍhā*, *bhedā*, Bang. *bēḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēḍhā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, Mult. *verhā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāsi*. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buddha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāsm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baddā*, Sindhī *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Sinh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vid*, Kāš. *vid*, *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bist*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vāta* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxī *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afy. *varyaḡ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravah* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūsrob*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

$v > bh$.

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, U_r, Bang., *bhāp*, Hindi *bhāph*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' U_r. *bhēḍā*, *bēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > m.

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jāum*, *jāmahim*, *tāma*, *tāum*, *tāmahim*, Pali *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāiśravaṇa* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk. *vēsamaṇa*. Skt. *vijñaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindi *mintī*, Hindi *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhi *minti*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pali *nava*, Kaśm. *nāu(m)*, U_r. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindi *nāu*, Panj. *nāum*, *natim*, Sindhi *namvam*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Sirh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *√varəz* 'do,' New Pers. *parvāz* 'plough,' Bux. *parmāz*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxī *volc*, Afy. *marāz*, *nvarāz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

v > y.

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payattatī*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jaina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pali *dāya*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, U_r. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindi, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhi *ḍeru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *juṭanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvidan*, Afy. *kōyal*, *kōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

Syncope of v.

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pali *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Sindhi *ḍim̐h̐*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōviṃśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvisa*, Pāli *tēvisa(ti)*, Bihārī *teis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhi *trēvili*, Guj. *trēviś*, Mar. *tēvis*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvarṭṭha*, Pāli *upaviṭṭha*, Hindi, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēś*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *šāv*, Sarq. *šao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Siv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukri *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaḷ*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *baēvara* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bīra*.

Prothesis of v.

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccaṭ*, Śaur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pāli *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pāli *ruttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ažəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *zuh*, Afy. *za*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *vost*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haʾik*, *hī*, *hek*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

Epenthesis of v.

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā*, *chāyā*, Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhina*, Hindi *chām̐v*, *chām̐(h)*, *chāōm*, Panj. *cā(u)m*, Sindhi *chām̐v*, *chām̐*, Guj. *cāmy*.

āvā > ā.

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of *āvā* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prāk. *pabhavaṭ*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prāk. *sambhavaṭ*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayeiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyaṭ*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Wāxī *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāt* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

ava > ũ.

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to *ũ* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ. Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

ava > ē.

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to *ē* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' Elu *elabanavā*, Sinh. *ellanavā*, *elvān*, *olambu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nuh*, Kāś. *muhdō*, Tāt *nūf*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yayn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

ava > ō.

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to *ō* is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*,

Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śaur. Prāk. (b)*hōdi*, (b)*huvadi*, (b)*havadi*, Māg. Prāk. (b)*havaṭ*, *huvaṭ* Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting Ur. *hē*, Sindhī *hua*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jaina Prāk. *samōsadhā*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindi, Panj., Guj. *ōs*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōt*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Tag. Oss. *nvog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avaḍa* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōdā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navat*, New Pers. *navad*, Afy. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

āva > au.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindi *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhī *ātāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yaugj*, Yāyn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxi *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

avi > ē.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(aḍā)*.

avi > āi.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

āva > *ō*.

§ 386. The contraction of *āva* to *ō* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zavarə* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(īh)*, New Pers. *sōr*.

āvay > *ē*, *ai*.

§ 387. The contraction of *āvay* to *ē*, *ai*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē*, *kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

āvi > *ā*.

§ 388. The contraction of *āvi* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣkṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āṣkārāk*, New Pers. *āṣkār(ā)*, *āṣkārāh*, Afy. *xkāra*.

ivā > *ō*.

§ 389. The contraction of *ivā* to *ō* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōsī*, *paḍōsī*, *parōsī*.

ivē > *ō*.

§ 390. The contraction of *ivē* to *ō* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōsāi*.

īva > *ī*.

§ 391. The contraction of *īva* to *ī* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvāiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jivāhy*, Phl. *švas-tanō*, New Pers. *šistan*, Kurd. *šin*, *šiin*. Phl. *dipīvar* 'scribe,' *dipīr(īh)*, New Pers. *dibīr*.

ēvā > *ī*.

§ 392. The contraction of *ēvā* to *ī* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *ḍīr*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *dīn*.

uva > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *uva* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardi*.

uva > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *uva* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *uva* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. **vadhuvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *buk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Paz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durōd*.

ś = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avantikā, and Śākārī alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarātī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindī and Sindhī indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kaśm. *hat*, Uṛ. *śaē*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēn*, *śambhar*, Guj. *šel*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *śīsa*, *sissa*, Pāli *śīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *śīs*, Sindhī *śīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Elu *hisa*, Sinh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *aśī*, Pāli *aśīti*, Ass. *ṣīt*, Kaśm. *śīth*, Uṛ. *aśī*, Bang. *aśī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *aśī*, Guj. *ēmsī*, Mar. *ēmsī*. Skt. *dēśīya* 'native,' Pāli *dēśīya*, Uṛ., Bang. *dēśī(ya)*, Hindī, Panj. *dēśī*, Sindhī *ḍēśī*, *ḍēhārī*, Guj., Mar. *dēśī*.

ś > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāvaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, Uṛ. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(m)*, Hindī *chōkadā*, Panj. *chōkadā*, *chōharā*, Sindhī *chōkadō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvaḍā*, Gyp.

chavō. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śeṣa* 'end,' Prak., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śaṃa* 'hemp,' Uṛ. *chaṇa*, Bang. *chana*.

ś > ḍ.

§ 397. The change of ś to ḍ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *sāka*, Kāśm. *hak* (cf. Skt. *ḍākinī* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākinī*).

ś > y.

§ 398. The change of ś to y is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prak. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauri, Jaugada) *duvādasa-vāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvādasāvasa*.

ś > v.

§ 399. The change of ś to v is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prak. *parasu*, Sinh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of ś (cf. § 402).]

ś > s.

§ 400. The change of ś to s is the regular one to which Indian ś is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prak. *sōhat*, Pāis. Prak. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śūsruṣā* 'obedience,' Prak. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *suśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prak. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prak., Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindi, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhi *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prak. *asī*, Pāli *asīti*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *assī*, Sindhi *asī*, Guj. *emsī*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śīla* 'stone,' Prak. *silā*, Māg. Prak. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Uṛ. *śīla*, Bang. *śil*, Hindi *sil*, Panj. *sil*, Sindhi *sir*, Mar. *sil*.

ś > h.

§ 401. The change of ś to h is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha*, *dasa*, Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *dah*, Ur., Bang. *daś*, *das*, Hindī *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhī *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Sinh. *dahaja*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deš*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saštrō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindī (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kēśari* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *kēsari*, Bihārī *kēhari*, *kēsari*, Hindī *kēhari*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhī *kēhari*, Guj. *kēsari*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhī *phāhī*, *phāsi*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Elū *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

Apocope and syncope of ś.

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian *ś* occurs frequently in the Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pāli *siṅga*, Hindī *siṅg*, Mar. *śiṅg*, Elū *samgu*, *aṅgu*, Sinh. *aṅga*, *si(m)gu*, *suṅgu*. Skt. *śisīra* 'cold,' Prāk., Pāli *sisira*, Sinh. *āl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pāli *lasuna*, Sinh. *lunu*.

$$\text{ś} = \text{ś}.$$

§ 403. The retention of Indian *ś* is found only in Kāśmīrī, Uṛīya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pāli *sōlasa*, *sōrasa*, Kāśm. *śurāh*. Ur. *sōhala*, Bang. *śōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *sołosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' Ur. *mūṣa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

$$\text{ś} > \text{kh}.$$

§ 404. In Hindī and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian *ś* is pronounced *kh*, even if *ś* be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prāk., Pāli *bhāsā*, Naip.

bhās, *bhakkā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *bhākhā*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *mānusa*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhī *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the tadbhava forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

§ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of § to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pāli *cha*, Kāsm. *ṣah*, *ṣih*, Ur. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindī *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhī *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(ā)*, Old Sinh. *caka*, Sinh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣatpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jaina Prāk. *chappaya*.

§ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of § to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karīṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pāli *karisa*, Sinh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

§ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of § to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *aṇṇēṣanti*. Skt. *ālabhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiṣanti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiṣamrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisanti* Dhauli, *ālabbhiyisanti* Jaugada, *ālābbhiyisanti* Khālsi).

§ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of § to *s* is the normal one to which Indian § is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *solosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣam̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sām̐dh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐ḍ*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,

usaha, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindī *purīṣ*, semitatsama *purukh*.

§ > h.

§ 409. The change of § to h is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jaina Prāk. *ēgahaṭṭhi*, *ēgasatṭhi*, *ēgayatṭhi*, *ēgavatṭhi*, *ēgatṭhi*, Kāśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhaṭ*, Sindhī *ekahaṭhi*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pāli *visa*, Panj. *bih*, *bis*, Sindhī *viḥu*.

s = s.

§ 410. Indo-Iranian s is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian s normally becomes h. Iranian s, arising from Indo-Germanic *k̂* (Old Indian *ś*, see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *siṃha*, Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, E. Hindī *tisī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarata* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(i)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vōn. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kāšr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khashthar*. Av. *dasā* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *dēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πιάσας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīsk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pis(aḡ)*.

$s > ch$.

§ 411. The change of *s* to *ch* is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pāli *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pāli *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' U₂, Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siṅcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *siṁcaṭ*, Pāli *siṅcati*, Bihārī *chīncāi*, *siṁcāi*, Mar. *siṁcaṇēm*.

$s > j(h)$.

§ 412. The change of *s* to *j(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *haṁsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pāli *haṁsa*, Hindi *hāms*, Sindhī *hamj(h)u*, Simh. *has*.

$s > t$.

§ 413. The change of *s* to *t* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sax^hārō* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. ἀπ. λεγ. *θātairi*, Yt. x, 14).

$s > th, \theta$.

§ 414. The change of *s* to *th, \theta*, occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' Av. *θātairi*, etc. (? see preceding §).

$s > d$.

§ 415. The change of *s* to *d* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*, Simh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* (*d* for *s* by false analogy with Simh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).

$s > v$.

§ 416. The change of s to v is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *ḍav*, etc. (see § 410).

$s > ś$.

§ 417. The change of s to $ś$ is very rare. In East Hindi $ś$ is often written for s , although s is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of s to $ś$ is regular in Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi, and Śākārī Prākṛit, and the Avantika Prākṛit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Māg. Prāk. *vilāśē*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Māg. Prāk. *śahia*. Skt. *anusāsana* 'instruction,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśaśana*, Māhār. Prāk. *aṇuśāsana*, Pāli *anusāsana*.

$s > ṣ$.

§ 418. The change of s to $ṣ$, apart from the regular development in Old Indian of $ṣ$ from s after $ī$, $ū$, r , $ē$, $ō$, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uṇanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhāuli, Jaugada, Khālsi). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyāsi*.

$s > ś$.

§ 419. The change of Iranian s to $ś$ is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *afsān*, dialectic *śān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *śīšan*, *śīšin*, Kurd. *śukīn*, *sukīn*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afy. *γō-śāk*, *γō-śōē*, N. Bal. *sayan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *śuś*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*.

s > z.

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūirya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surmai* 'trumpet,' Tāt *surmai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt *paz*, Wāxī *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *p(i)ās*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x^oasura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxī *xurs*, Afy. *sxar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xazūr*, *xazīr*, *xaur*.

s > h.

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakāl* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *hakāl*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Sinhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ekasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kāsm. *akasatath*, Uṛ. *ekastōri*, Bang. *ekāttar*, Bihārī *ekahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ekahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ekahattar*, cf. Jāina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Sinh. *hättāva*, *sättāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Uṛ., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(ā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis and syncope of s.

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *sīat*, *sadai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Sinh. *imdinavā*, *himdinavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhar. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Sinh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^hasura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xasūr*, *xasūr_a* etc. (see § 420).

$\xi = \xi$.

§ 423. Iranian ξ remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *ciān*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl. New Pers. *gōš*, Šir. Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaš*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēšah* 'wound,' Phl. New Pers. *rēš*, Afy. *raš*.

$\xi > c, \check{c}$.

§ 424. The change of ξ to *c, č*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxī *cauam*, Kurd. *ciān*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\xi > j$.

§ 425. The change of ξ to *j* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baēšaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bejašk*, *bijašk*, *bešazak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *bizišk*.

$\xi > l$.

§ 426. The change of ξ to *l* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

$\xi > s$.

§ 427. The change of ξ to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Šiv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > z.

§ 428. The change of š to z occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *šikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *zik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxī *šād*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afy. *špaš*, Oss. *axsaz*.

š > ž.

§ 429. The change of š to ž is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *γūš*, Afy. *γvaš*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *araša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yūrx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hirc*, *vir*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanō*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukužim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ak)*, Citrālī *rixīš*, *rikiš*, Wāxī *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarža*, Afy. *žira*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rīxī*.

Apocope of š.

§ 431. The loss of final š occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γū*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

z = z.

§ 432. Iranian z remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afy. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ažnōh*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dīl*, Māz. *zilāh*, Gīl. *zil*, Šiyn. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zil*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *maēzēnti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēzētānō*, New Pers. *mēzi-*

dan, Afy. *mital*, Bal. *mīšay*, *mēšay*, Kurd. *mīstin*, *mīstin*, Dig. Oss. *mn̄sun*, Tag. *mīzin*. New Pers. *pōs* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(ñ)z*, N. Bal. *phōñz*, Kurd. *pōz*, *pūz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *finj*.

$z > \check{z}$.

§ 433. The change of *z* to \check{z} is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zanva* 'chin,' New Pers. *zanax*, Šiyn. *zingū*, Sarq. *zangān*, Afy. *jana*, *zana*. Afy. *jōē* 'son' beside *zōē* (from \sqrt{zan} 'to be born').

$z > s$.

§ 434. The change of *z* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

$z, \check{z} > \xi$.

§ 435. The change of *z, \check{z}* to ξ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāžah*, *kāšah*.

$z > \xi$.

§ 436. The change of *z* to ξ is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl. *zam*, New Pers. *zam*, Wāxi *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *žimai*, *zimai*, *jimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

$z > h$.

§ 437. The change of *z* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzih*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzu*, Gab. *bāz*, Kaš. *bōz*, *bōh*, *bōhū*, Siv. *bāz*, Xor. *bāh*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

Syncope of z.

§ 438. The loss of internal *z* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāz*, Kaš. *bōz*, *bōh*, *bōhū*, Siv. *bāz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ḫ} = \text{ḫ}.$$

§ 439. Iranian *ḫ* is in general retained unchanged* in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dūšē*. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Phl. *šūšak*, New Pers. *šūšah*, Gab. *jujik*.

$$\text{ḫ} > \gamma.$$

§ 440. The change of *ḫ* to γ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Afy. *dōyaš*, *dōšax*, *dōzax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ḫ} > j.$$

§ 441. The change of *ḫ* to *j* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jujik*, etc. (see § 439).

$$\text{ḫ} > \text{š}.$$

§ 442. The change of *ḫ* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of *ḫ* to *š* occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for *ḫ*, and employs the character for *š* instead).

$$\text{ḫ} > z.$$

§ 443. The change of *ḫ* to *z* is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian *ḫ* is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōzax*, Afy. *dōzax*, *dōšax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōšē*, etc. (see § 439).

$$h = h.$$

§ 444. Indian *h* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian *h* (corresponding to Indian *s*) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kāśm. *ath*, Ur. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Simh. *ata*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāim*, Sindhī *himamu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārg̃ha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahamgā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahamgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimgā*, Sindhī *mahamgō*, Guj. *mōinghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Ur. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhī *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl., Pāz. *hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxī *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šīyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāš. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *valjag*.

$h > k$.

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintāla*, Simh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

$h > kh, x$.

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh, x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(īh)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Šīv. *fušk*, Kāš. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxī *vask*, Yidg. *ušk*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxī *xūg*, Sarq. *xaug*, Afy. *xūg*, Bal. *hūk*, N. Bal. *hix*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yayn. *itk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dūšē*.

$h > c$.

§ 447. The change of *h* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Sīv. *camcah* (assimilation).

$h > ph, f$.

§ 448. The change of *h* to *ph, f*, is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Sīv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$.

§ 449. The change of *h* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk., Pali *vebhāra*.

$h > v$.

§ 450. The change of *h* to *v* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *vūvd*, (*h*)*ub*, *hūb*, Šīyn. *vuvd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > y, i$.

§ 451. The vocalization of *h* to *y, i*, occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxī *mūi*, Šīyn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomya*, Afy. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *maya*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$.

§ 452. The change of *h* to *s* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pāli *snēsika* (but Pāli *s(i)nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

$h > š$.

§ 453. The change of *h* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *namah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmūnš*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimīš*, *nimī*.

$h > z, \xi$.

§ 454. The change of h to z, ξ , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nimīš*, *nimī*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis of h.

§ 455. The loss of initial h is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kaśm. *ath*, Sindh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxi *ub*, *hub*, *hüb*, *vūvd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaʿyn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāš. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ušk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Afy. *ǰ-*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*.

Syncope of h.

§ 456. The loss of internal h is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapphaī*, *bhayapphaī*, *bihapphaī*, *buhapphaī*, *buhappaī*, *bahassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bhuapphaī*, *bhuaspadī*, Uṛ. *biphāi* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphāi*, *bihapphaī*. Skt. *gēhinī* 'woman,' Prāk. *gharinī*, Sindh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vrihi* 'rice,' Pāli *vīhi*, Sindh. *vī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vohuni* 'blood,' Phl. *xūn*, New Pers. *xūn*, Siv. *fīn*, Wāxi *vuxan*, Šiʿyn. *viʿin*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vinē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāš. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

Apocope of h.

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimī*, *nimīš*, etc. (see § 453).

Prothesis of h.

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prak. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidālōkika*, lit. Prak. *daṇi(m)*. Skt. *ēdṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prak. *ērisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prak. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hētā*, Bang. *hōthā*, *ōthā*. Skt. *oṣṭha* 'lip,' Prak., Pāli *oṭṭha*, Uṛ. *ōṭha*, Bang. *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōmṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpaṭ*, lit. Phl. *hērpāṭ*, *ērpāṭ*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aošaḥ* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

Epenthesis of h.

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Uṛ. *mahana*, Hindī *man*, Mar. *maṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *ziḥ*, Kāš. *yah*, *ša*, Afy. *šai*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *ziḥ*.

CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281–282 (cf. 359–360), into the ‘strong, weak, and mixed nexus’ is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

$kt > k(k)$.

§ 461. The assimilation of *kt* to *k(k)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkaṇṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṇṭhā*, Pāli *ukkaṇṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pāli *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

$kt > gḍ, γḍ$.

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group *kt* to *gḍ, γḍ*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxī *naγḍ*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thaγḍ*.

$ktz > γz, zγ$.

§ 463. The assimilation of *ktz* to *γz, zγ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suγzarina*, Tag. *sizyarin*.

$kt > t(t)$.

§ 464. The assimilation of *kt* to *t(t)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pāli *bhatta*, Kāśm. *batu*, Uṛ., Bang., E. Hindī, W. Hindī *bhaṭ*, Panj. *bhatt*,

Sindhī *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk., Pāli *mutta*, Ur. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *mōti*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prāk., Pāli *ratta*, Ur., Bang. *rakta*, Hindī *rāt*, Sindhī *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Simh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtano* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtān*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtano* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtān*, Māg. *sūt*, Gil. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, *svažavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtanī *sukhtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sōjin*.

kt > *pht*, *ft*.

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht*, *ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūftan* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtan*.

kt > *ht*.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxī *pōšt*, Šīyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtano* 'to burn,' Bohtanī *sukhtin*, etc. (see § 464).

ktr > *lkh*, *lx*.

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh*, *lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, New Pers. *balx*.

ktr > *hr*.

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

kth > *(t)th*.

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to *(t)th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prāk., Pāli *sittha*, Hindī *sīth*, *sīṭh*, Panj. *sēṭh*, *sēṭ*, Mar. *sīt*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pāli *satthi*.

kn > *nn*.

§ 470. The assimilation of *kn* to *nn* is the regular¹ one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaṭ*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhī *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

km > *m(m)*.

§ 471. The assimilation of *km* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *ruknavatī* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummavati*.

b. Iranian. Av. **staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitahmak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

km > *gm*, *ym*.

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group *km* to *gm*, *ym*, is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, etc. (see preceding §).

km > *p(p)*.

§ 473. The assimilation of *km* to *p(p)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukminī* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppinī*.

ky > *k(k)*.

§ 474. The assimilation of *ky* to *k(k)* occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *outsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkya* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlōkka*.

kr > *k(k)*.

§ 475. The assimilation of *kr* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Ur. *caṣka*, Bang. *cākā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *cak*, Panj. *cakh*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Siṃh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Siṃh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

kr > r(r).

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Siv. *sīr*, Kaš., Kuhr. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Šīyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

kr > hr.

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahrah*, Kaš. *cōra*, *cīr*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

kl > l(l).

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pāli *kiliṭṭha*, Siṃh. *leḍa*.

kv > k(k).

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakka*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

kṣ > k(k).

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k(k)* is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhukṣā* 'hunger,' Pāli *bubhukkhati*, Hindī

bhūkh, Sindhī *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bokh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khīra*, *chīra*, Pāli *khīra*, Kaf. *zu*, New Ind. dialects *khīr*, Sinh. *kiri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Siv., Judæo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxi *maks*, Minj. *muṣa*, Afy. *mac*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

kṣ > *kkh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pāli *makkhikā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(n)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(n)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(n)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(n)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhī *makhī*, Guj. *mākhī*, Mar. *makhā*, *māsi*, Gyp. *makhā*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pāli *dakkhiṇa*, Kāśm. *dachan*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Bang. *ḍāin*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhī *ḍakhinō*, Mar. *ḍākhīn*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pāli *pakkha*, Kāśm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhī*, Bihārī *pankh* 'wing,' *pāhīm* 'beside,' *panchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pākhī*, *pānchī*, Panj. *pānchī*, Sindhī *pangu*, Guj. *pānchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pānchī*, Sinh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yayn. *xīšap*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *arsav*.

kṣ > *khs*, *xs*.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *arsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

kṣ > *g(g)*.

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Siv., Judæo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

$kṣ > c(c)$.

§ 484. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $c(c)$ is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudda*, Pāli *khudda*, Uṛ. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sindh. *cuḍi*, Sindh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. **xšapacara* 'bat,' Bal. *šapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

$kṣ > (c)ch$.

§ 485. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $(c)ch$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. *richa*, Bihārī *riḥ*, *riḥh*, Hindī *riḥ*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *riḥ*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(m)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Kāśm. *khīt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, Uṛ. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetrī*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

$kṣ > j, (j)jh$.

§ 486. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $j, (j)jh$, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīṇa*, *khīṇa*, *chīṇa*, Pāli *khīṇa*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khinō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhiḥjāi*, Mar. *jhiḥ*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

$kṣ > s(s)$.

§ 487. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, Bang. *aku*, E. Hindī *ūkh*, W. Hindī *ikh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *rīs*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)sī*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sindh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣana* 'instant,' Prāk. *khana*, *chana* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khan*, excepting Hindī *khan*, *chan*, 'chin, Siñh. *sāna*, *san(a)a*, inscriptions *sāndū*.

kṣ > *ś(ṣ)*.

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšira* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šir*, Minj. *xšir*, Dig. Oss. *axšir*, Tag. *axsir*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *h(h)*.

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *h(h)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaikṣa* 'novice,' Jaina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīm* 'beside,' *pamchī* 'bird,' *pamkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhina*, *dakkhina*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *dāhāna*, Hindī *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *z(z)*.

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *z(z)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *zu*, etc. (see § 480).

Aphaeresis of kṣ.

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhi *chāru*, Sirhh. *alu*, *halu*, Maladive *hulu*.

kṣn > *n*, *n*.

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *n*, *n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*.

kʃn > *ʃn*.

§ 493. The assimilation of *kʃn* to *ʃn* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

kʃn > *hn*.

§ 494. The assimilation of *kʃn* to *hn* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*, *rōn*, *rūn*, etc. (see § 492).

gdh > *t(t)*.

§ 495. The assimilation of *gdh* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kāśm. *dod*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxī *ḍōgnam*, Sarq. *ḍauzam*, Afy. *lwašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dučīn*.

gdh > *d(d)*.

§ 496. The assimilation of *gdh* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kāśm. *dod*, Bang. *dud(u)*, *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

gdh > *ḍḍh*.

§ 497. The assimilation of *gdh* to *ḍḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prāk., Pāli *muddha*.

gn > *g(g)*, *γ*.

§ 498. The assimilation of *gn* to *g(g)*, *γ*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggini*, *giṇi*, U. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *ag*, Siṃh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, U. *naṃgalā*, Bang. *nēṃṭā*, Bihārī *naṃg*, Hindī, Panj. *naṃgā*, Sindhī *naṃgō*, Guj. *nāguṃ*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṃgā*, Gyp. *naṃgō* (cf. also Kāśm. *naṃrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*.

gn > *n(n)*.

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

Syncope and apocope of gn.

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruyan*, etc. (see § 498).

gm > *m(m)*.

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *āgəmaṭ* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāymaṭ*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṭanō*, New Pers. *āmudan*.

gy > *g(g)*.

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggaṛ*, Pāli *laggati*, Kāśm. $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$, Hindī *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhī *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

gr > g(g).

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk., Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Ur. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *āgē*, Panj. *aggā*, Sindhī *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

ghr > (g)gh.

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śighra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *sīgha*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *šiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Simh. *vag*.

ghr > r(r).

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r(r)* is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiyri* 'arrow,' Old Pers. *tiyra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tīr*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tīr(ik)*.

ṛk > ṛg.

§ 506. The softening of *ṛk* to *ṛg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryan̐ka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallaṁka*, Śāur. Prāk. *paliaṁka*, Pāli *pallaṁka*, *pariyaṁka*, Ass. *pāl̐eṅg*, Nāip. *pal̐aṅg*, Ur. *pal̐aṁk*, Bang. *pāl̐aṅg*, *pāl̐aṁk*, Bihārī *pal̐aṅg*, *pāl̐akī*, Hindī *pal̐aṅg*, Panj. *pal̐aṅgh*, Sindhī *pal̐aṅgu*, Guj., Mar. *pal̐aṅg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *kaṁkaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṁkaṇa*, Ass. *kaṛ̐aṅaṇ*, *kāṁkaṇ*, Kāśm. *kaṁk̐aṇ*, *kaṛ̐ogum*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁgaṇ*, E. Hindī *kaṁgaṇ*, *kaṁkaṇ*, *kāṁkaṇ*, Hindī *kaṁgaṇ*, *kaṁkaṇ*, Panj. *kaṁgaṇ*, Sindhī *kaṛ̐aṅaṇu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṁgaṇ*.

ɳkt > nt.

§ 507. The assimilation of *ɳkt* to *nt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paṅkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *paṃti*, Bihārī *pānti*.

ɳkh > k(h).

§ 508. The assimilation of *ɳkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṅkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *st(m)-kar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sikar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *sāṃghal*, Mar. *sā(n)khal*, *sikrī*.

ɳkh > ŋgh, mgh.

§ 509. The softening of *ɳkh* to *ŋgh*, *mgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *saṃghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

ɳg > g(g).

§ 510. The assimilation of *ɳg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṅgala*, *ṇaṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bang. *nāṅgal*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Simh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lāṅgūla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṅgūla*, Simh. *nagal*, *nakūṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angur*, Afy. *gūta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

ɳg > ŋgh.

§ 511. The aspirization of *ɳg* to *ŋgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṅgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhī *jhaṅgu* < **jaṅghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṅgal*, Old Hindī also *jaṅgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

cch > *śc(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *cch* to *śc(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *prcchati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchitta*, Pāli *ucchittha*.

cy > *c(c)*.

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accuta*. Skt. *cyavatē* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavaṛ*, Pāli *cavati*, Uṛ. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhī *cuhānu*, Mar. *cāvaṇēm*. Skt. *ucyate* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccaṛ*, Pāli *vuccati*.

cv > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *cvant* 'how many?' Phl., New Pers. *cand*, Wāxi *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afy. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

jñ > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yajña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jaṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, Uṛ., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindī *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindī *jāg*, Panj. *jagg*, Sindhī *jaḡu*, Mar. *jāg*.

jñ > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uṛiya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarātī *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhī *jñ* is pronounced *ḍny*. Sindhī usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *nāna*, Pāis. Prāk. *nāna*, Pāli *jāna*, Uṛ., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *g'ānō*), Hindī,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*. Skt. *jñā* 'command,' Prāk. *añā*, Pali *aññā*, Hindī *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhi *āgyā*, Guj. *āgnyā*.

jñ > j(j).

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j(j)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *ñāna*, Pali *jāna*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *savvajja*, *savvanu*, Śaur. Prāk. *savvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, Pāis. Prāk. *savvañña*.

jñ > ñ(ñ).

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāis. Prāk. *savvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viññāna*, Pāli *viññāna*.

jñ > ṇ(ṇ).

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viññāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindī *rānī*, other New Ind. dialects *rānī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Sinh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

jñ > n(n).

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pāli *ñāti*, Sinh. *nā*.

jy > j(j).

§ 521. The assimilation of *jy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pāli *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtānō* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvidan*, Gab.

jovālmān, Afy. *šōvul*, *šōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jān* (cf. Old Bulg. *šivati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

jy > (j)jh.

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to (j)jh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhijya* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)ya*.

jy > s(š), š(ś).

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to s(š), or š(ś), is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afy. *šōvul*, *šōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīh*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ša*, Afy. *šai*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *ših*.

jv > j(j).

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to j(j) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk., Pāli *jālā*, Uṛ. *jvalibā*, Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *bālaṇā*, Sindhī *jalaṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jālavum*, Mar. *jalaṇēm*, Simh. *dala*.

jv > (j)jh.

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to (j)jh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalaṛ*, Pāli *jالاتي*, Uṛ. *jhalakanā*, Sindhī *jhalakaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavum*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēm*.

jv > d(d).

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to d(d) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Simh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

jv > b(b).

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to b(b) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *bālaṇā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhī *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhī *bar*.

$\hat{n}c > \text{ŋ}g$.

§ 528. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $\text{ŋ}g$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxī *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afy. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

$\hat{n}c > c(c)$.

§ 529. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $c(c)$ occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, Kāśm. *pañṇāh*, Ur. *pacāsa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindī *pacās*, Panj., Sindhī *pañjāh*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pañṇās*, Simh. *panaha*.

$\hat{n}c > j(j)$.

§ 530. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $j(j)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Kāśm. *kuñz*, Ur. *kuji*, *kuñcī*, *kuñjhī*, Bang. *kūjī*, *kuñjī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kuñjī*, Guj. *kuñcī*, Mar. *kuñjī*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}j$.

§ 531. The softening of $\hat{n}c$ to $\hat{n}j$ is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Bang. *kū(m)jī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Mar. *kuñjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāś. *hanc*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šīyn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afy. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 532. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > \text{ŋ}(n)$.

§ 533. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $\text{ŋ}(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *paññāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > n(n)$.

§ 534. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pañnās*, Simh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > s(s)$.

§ 535. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāñcana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcana*, Pāli *kañcana*, Simh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kāśm. *pañč*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *pāñc*, Panj., Sindhī *pām̐j*, Guj., Mar. *pāñc*, Simh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

$\hat{n}c > h(h)$.

§ 536. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Simh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

$\hat{n}j > m̐d$.

§ 537. The assimilation of $\hat{n}j$ to $m̐d$ is excessively rare, excepting in Simhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjana*, Pāli *añjana*, Simh. *añduna*.

$\acute{d}g > g(g)$.

§ 538. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *kham̐dā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khām̐d*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārūm*, Mar. *khām̐d*.

$\acute{d}g > \acute{d}(\acute{d})$.

§ 539. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $\acute{d}(\acute{d})$ is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Ur. *kham̐dā*, Hindī *khām̐d*, *kharag*, Guj. *khārūm*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{d}g > n(n)$.

§ 540. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$nt > t(t)$.

§ 541. The assimilation of nt to $t(t)$ is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prāk. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāmtī*, Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Kāśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Ur. *kaṇṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Bang. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Hindī *kāmṭā*, Panj., Sindhi *kaṇḍā*, Guj. *kāmṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$nt > d(d)$.

§ 542. The assimilation of nt to $d(d)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Panj., Sindhi *kāṇḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nt > nd$.

§ 543. The softening of nt to nd occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kāśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$nth' > nt$.

§ 544. The deaspirization of nth is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kāśm. *śōṇṭ*, Ur., Bang. *śuṇṭha*, Hindī *sōmṭh*, Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *suṇḍhi*, Guj. *suṇṭh*.

$nth > nḍh$.

§ 545. The softening of nth to $nḍh$ is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *suṇḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nd > d(d)$.

§ 546. The assimilation of nd to $d(d)$ is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kāśm. *khaḍak*, Ur. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *khāmṛ*, Panj. *khāmḍā*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāmḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *deḍḍubha*.

$nḍ > nḍ$.

§ 547. The decerebralization of $nḍ$ is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass. Nāip. *rāmri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *rām̐r*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhī *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmḍ*.

$nḍ > n(n)$.

§ 548. The assimilation of $nḍ$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhī *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāmḍā*.

$nḍh > ḍ(ḍ)$.

§ 549. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to $ḍ(ḍ)$ is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣām̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sāmḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāmḍ*.

$nḍh > n(n)$.

§ 550. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhī *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nḍh > m̐r$.

§ 551. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to *m̐r* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sām̐r*, etc. (see § 549).

$nḍh > m̐h$.

§ 552. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to *m̐h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

$ny > ṇj$.

§ 553. The assimilation of ny to *ṇj* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmaṇya* 'Brahmanical,' Śāur. Prāk. *vamhaṇja*.

$\eta y > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 554. The assimilation of ηy to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhī *puṇi*. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *raṇ*, *rinu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

$\eta y > n(n)$.

§ 555. The assimilation of ηy to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta y > n(n)$.

§ 556. The assimilation of ηy to $n(n)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *rinu*, *raṇ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiraṇya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṇṇa*, Pāli *hiraṇṇa*.

$\eta v > n(n)$.

§ 557. The assimilation of ηv to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Pāli *kiṇṇa*, Sindhī *kinu*.

$\eta v > n(n)$.

§ 558. The assimilation of ηv to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Sindhī *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tt > t(t)$.

§ 559. The cerebralization of tt to $t(t)$ is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding r , $ṛ$.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥tta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vattā*, Pāli *vattā*, *vattā*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Ur., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindī, Panj. *miṭṭi*, *mattī*, Sindhī *miṭi*, Guj. *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭana*, Pāli *paṭṭana*.

$tp > p(p)$.

§ 560. The assimilation of tp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppajjantē*, Pāli *uppajjanti*, cf. Sindhī *upanō*, Guj. *upan(y)ō*.

$tm > t(t)$.

§ 561. The assimilation of tm to $t(t)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kaśm. *pān*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pān*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*.

$tm > pt$.

§ 562. The assimilation of tm to pt is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

$tm > p(p)$.

§ 563. The assimilation of tm to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kaśm. *pān*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pān*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*, etc. (see § 561).

$ty > c(c)$.

§ 564. The assimilation of ty to $c(c)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *sāmcā*, (pron. *hoṃsā*), Ur. *sacā*, Bang. *sāmcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindī *sāmc*, Hindī *sāmc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacū*, Guj., Mar. *sācum*, Sinh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhī *hacā*.

ty > *t(t)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t(t)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prāk., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *nit(t)*, Sindhī *nitū*, Siṃh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Siṃh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jaina Prāk. *accunaya*.

ty > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Siṃh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Siṃh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

tr > *č(č)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č(č)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ^ra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *pulr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yaγn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

tr > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭ(t)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk. *putta*, Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ(a)a*, Pāli *putta*, U_r. *pua*, Hindī *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *putī*, Siṃh. *pīṭ*, *put*.

tr > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prāk. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīṇi*, Kāśm. *trih*, U_r. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tini*, Hindī *tīn*, Panj. *tiṁn*, Sindhī *ṭrē*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *sutṭu*, Siṃh. *suta*.

tr > (t)th.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (t)th is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindi, Hindi *pahilamthā*, Panj. *pahilōthā*, Sindhī *pahrōthō*, *pahrātu*.

tr > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to ḍ(ḍ) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śaur. Prāk. *puḍ(ḍ)a*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > t(t).

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to t(t) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pali *ratti*, Kāsm., Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Simh. *rāya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (a)raci. Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pali *khetta*, Ur., Bang. *khētu*, Hindi *khēt*, *khēḍā*, Panj. *khēt*, Sindhī *khētu*, Guj. *khēḍ*, Mar. *śēt*, Simh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pali *timaṇḍala*, Old Simh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Simh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk., Pali *putta*, Hindi *put*, Mar. *puti*, Simh. *pit*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > dr.

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to dr is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yāyn. *θaraš*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

tr > phr, fr.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to phr, fr, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraētaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frētūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

tr > r(r).

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to r(r) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus(ar)*, Gab.

pūr, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *citrē*, New Pers. *cihr*, Afy. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

tr > *l(l)*.

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yāyn. *pulah*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθριδάρης*, nom. prop., Phl. *mitrdāt*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

tr > *s(s)*.

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Kurd. *pisir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl. *pās*, New Pers. *pās*.

tr > *š(š)*.

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

tr > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus(ar)*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cihr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

Syncope of tr.

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prak. *rāṭ*, *ratti*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prak. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhī *miō*.

tv > *t(t)*.

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t(t)* is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvarita* 'quick,' Prāk. *turia*, Pāli *turita*, Hindi, Panj. *turan̄t*, Sindhī *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turāt*. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *caūra*, Pāli *catu*, Kāśm. *čōr*, U_r., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindi, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, New Sinh. *hatara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* < **tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

tv > *d(d)*.

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > *p(p)*.

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-paṇu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *budhāpaṇā*, *budhāpā*, Hindi *budhāpan*, Panj. *budhāpā*, Sindhī *ḅudhāpaṇu*, Guj. *budhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šīyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *cir*, Yaṇ. *tfō*, Afy. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

tv > *ph, f*.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph, f* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yaṇ. *tfō*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tv > b(b)$. .

§ 585. The assimilation of *tv* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > l(l)$.

§ 586. The assimilation of *tv* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afy. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > v(v)$.

§ 587. The assimilation of *tv* to *v(v)* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāraḥ* 'four,' Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavūr*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > sp$.

§ 588. The assimilation of *tv* to *sp* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

$tv > h(h)$.

§ 589. The assimilation of *tv* to *h(h)* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cilār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapīθwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh*, *farpīh*, New Pers. *farbīh*.

Syncope of tv.

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group *tv* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cir*, etc. (see § 583).

$ts > c(c)$.

§ 591. The assimilation of *ts* to *c(c)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bībhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bībhacca*. Skt.

vatsa 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kaśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, W. Hindī *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *ḥacō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacṛēm*, *vāsrūm*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

ts > (c)ch.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pāli *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ts > ś(ś).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to ś(ś) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

ts > s(s).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to s(s) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Mahār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jaina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagya*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pāli *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

tsy > (c)c.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)c is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

tsy > (c)ch.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tsy > *s(s)*.

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s(s)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsō*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

thy > (c)*ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to (c)*ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pāli *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Ur. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindī *micchā*, Sindhī *maṭhyani*, Sinh. *misa*.

thy > *s(s)*.

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Sinh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

dg > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pāli *mugga*, Ur. *mūga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mūng*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *mūng*, Sindhī *muṇu*, Mar. *mūg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pāli *muggara*, Ur. *mōgara*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muṇirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māy*.

dgh > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaṭ*, *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, Ur. *uganā*, Sindhī *uḡaṇu*, Guj. *ugavum*, Mar. *ugaviṇēm*.

dgh > (g)gh.

§ 602. The assimilation of *dgh* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

ddh > (t)ṭh.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to *(t)ṭh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindī *sudh*, Sindhī *suṭhō*.

ddh > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saddhā*, *saddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *ṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vuddhi*, Pāli *vuddhi*, *vuddhi*.

dm > m(m).

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m(m)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < **nišīdman*.

dm > nm.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinadmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

dy > j(j).

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷḷu*, Ur. *bijulī*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhī *viḷum*, Guj. *viḷuḷ*, Mar. *bījalī*, *viḷ*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *aḷja*, Ass. *āji*, Kāśm.

aj, *as*, Ur., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindī *āju*, E. Hindī, Hindī *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhī *ājū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Simh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prāk. *jui*, Pāli *juti*.

dy > *d(d)*.

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Simh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vaidya* 'physician,' Prāk., Pāli *vejja*, Simh. *veda*.

dr > *j(j)*.

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhī *nīmḍ*, Mar. *nīj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

dr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ksudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Ur. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Simh. *cuḍi*, Simh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍarhu*, *ḍadhu*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

dr > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhī *ḍarhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

dr > *d(d)*.

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nīj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prāk., Pāli *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kāsm. *dach*, Hindī, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhī *ḍākh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

dr > *l(l)*.

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l(l)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prāk. *bhadda*, Pāli *bhadra*,

bhadda, Ass. *bhāl*, U_r. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindi, Panj. *bhalā*, Sindhī, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. 'chidra' 'hole,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, Sindh. *hila*.

dr > *sr*.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

dr > *hr*.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

dv > *d(d)*.

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvala* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pāli *dvāra*, U_r. *lara*, Sindhī *dāru*, *dārī*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Sindh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pāli *dvi*, Kāśm. *zah*, U_r., Bang. *dui*, Hindi, Panj. *dō*, Sindhī *ba*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *diva*, Pāli *ḍīpa*, Sindh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Šiyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divīr*, Minj. *labra*, Afy. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *dvar*.

dv > *b(b)*.

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b(b)* is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pāli *bārasa*, *dvādasa*, Kāśm. *bāh*, U_r. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindi *bārah*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bāraham*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kaš., *bar*, Samn. *bari*, Wāxi *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *tbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

dv > *v(v)*.

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v(v)* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prāk. *uvvellaṭ*. [See now Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afy. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

dhy > (*j*) *jh*.

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to (*j*) *jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *māz*), Kaśm. *maṁz*, Ur. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burh-vānī *maddē*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, Hindī *mājhi*, *maṁjh*, *māmh*, *māṁjhōlā*, Panj. *māṁjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṁjlu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Siṁh. *māda*, inscriptions *māmda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhaṭ*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōzi*), Ur. *bujhibā*, Bang. *būjhan*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhī *būjhanu*, Guj. *bujavum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pāli *jhāṇa*, Hindī *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

dhy > *d(d)*.

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Burh-vānī *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Siṁh. *mā(m)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pāli *viijhati*, Siṁh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Wāxī *malung*, Šiyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

dhy > (d)dh.

§ 621. The assimilation of *dhy* to (d)dh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Šiyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhy > y(y).

§ 622. The assimilation of *dhy* to y(y) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > l(l).

§ 623. The assimilation of *dhy* to l(l) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Wāxī *malung*, Afy. *mlā*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > z(z).

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to z(z) occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *māz* (written *māj*), Kāsm. *maṃz*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kāsm. *bōzi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

dhy > h(h).

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to h(h) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindī *māmh*, *māmjh(olā)*, *māmjh*, *mājhi*, etc. (see § 619).

dhr > (j)jh.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to (j)jh is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gijjha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhi *gījhu*, Guj. *gīd(h)*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gidhad*.

dhr > *d(d)*.

§ 627. The assimilation of *dhr* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd*, *gīdh*, *gidhad*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhr > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 628. The assimilation of *dhr* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhr̥va* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *dhuva*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *giddha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gidhad*, *gīd*, etc. (see § 626).

dhv > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhv* to (*j*)*jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Simh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvālu* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

dhv > *d(d)*.

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhv* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Simh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhv > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhv* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., Pāli *addhā*.

nt > *t(t)*.

§ 632. The assimilation of *nt* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śāur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōmtē*, Nāip. *-ādā*, Kāsm. *-ān*, Uṛ. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindī *-at*, Old Hindī *-ant*,

Hindī -*atā*, Panj. -*a(n)dā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, Guj. -*atō*, Mar. -*atā*, -*at*, -*it*.

nt > (t)th.

§ 633. The assimilation of *nt* to (t)th is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *bərəzant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Oss. *barzanththa* (plural), Tag. *barzaththa*.

nt > d(d).

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to d(d) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. -*ādā*, Panj. -*adā*, -*andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

nt > nḍ.

§ 635. The softening of *nt* to nḍ is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śaur. Prāk. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *jvant* 'living,' Phl. *švandak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afy. *švand*.

nt > n(n).

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to n(n) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kāsm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afy. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

ntr > *ṇṭr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇṭr* is confined to the Sindhi (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṇṭru*, *maṇḍru*.

ntr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇḍr* also is confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṇḍru*, *maṇṭru*.

ntr > *r(r)*.

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*.

ntr > *l(l)*.

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ṭ(ṭ)*.

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṭ(ṭ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Sindhi *gaṁḍhi*, *ghuṁḍi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, Siṁh. *gāṭayā*.

nth > *mṭh*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pāli *gantha*, Uṛ. *gaṇṭha*, Bang. *gāṁṭh*, *gāṁṭh*, Hindī *gāṁṭh*, Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhi *gaṁḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṁṭh*, Siṁh. *gata*.

nth > *mḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *mḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhi *gaṁḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(t)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Sinh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

nth > *d(d)*.

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

nth > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prāk. *paṁtha*, Pāli *pantha*, Kāśm. *pāim̐th*, *pām̐th*, *pānth*, Sinh. *pandhu*.

ndr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṁda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṁd*, also Kāśm. *čandar*, E. Hindi *cān*, Hindi, Panj. *caṁd*, Sindhī *caṁḍu*, *caṇḍru*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handā*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, Gyp. *con*.

ndr > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṁda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṁd*, also Hindi, Panj. *caṁd*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handā*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndr > n(n)$. .

§ 650. The assimilation of *ndr* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindī *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

$ndh > t(t)$.

§ 651. The assimilation of *ndh* to *t(t)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *baṣtanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gil. *davaddam*, Waxī *vandam*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

$ndh > (t)th$.

§ 652. The assimilation of *ndh* to *(t)th* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndh > d(d)$.

§ 653. The assimilation of *ndh* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gil. *davaddam*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > nd$.

§ 654. The deaspirization of *ndh* is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāmd*, *kāmdh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāmdh*, Bihārī *kāmdhā*, *khāmdā*, Hindī *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāmdō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Sirh. *kanda*.

$ndh > n(n)$.

§ 655. The assimilation of *ndh* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van(n)am*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > (n)nh$.

§ 656. The assimilation of *ndh* to *(n)nh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Uṛ., Bang. *simdh*, E. Hindī *sēnhi*, *sēmdh*, Hindī *sēmdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēmdhi*, Multānī

sandh. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kamnh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pāli *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindī *aṁdhērā*, *aṁdhīyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

ndhy > *ñj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ñj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *sañjhā*, Pāli *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāmjh*, Bang. *sāmjh*, *sāmjh*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāmjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhī *sāmjhī*, *sañjhā*, Guj. *sāmjh*, Mar. *sāmjh*, *sāmjh*.

ndhy > *ñ(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ñ(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *sañjhā*, Pāli *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāmjh*, Bang. *sāmjh*, *sāmjh*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāmjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhī *sañjhā*, *sāmjhī*, Mar. *sāmjh*, *sāmjh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pāli *vañjha*, Ass. *bāmji*, Uṛ. *bāmjhā*, Bang. *bāmjhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāmjh*, Panj. *bañjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāmjh*.

nm > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prāk., Pāli *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *um-magga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *simury*.

ny > *ñj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Mag. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāli. Prāk. *kañjā*, *kaññakā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhī *kañā*.

ny > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñ(ñ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāś. Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Sindhi *kañā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pāli *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, Sinh. *anik(ak)*, *anikke*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suñña*, *sunna*, Pāli *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Sindhi *suñā*, Guj. *śun*, *suñin*, Mar. *sunā*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jaina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Guj. *śun*, *suñin*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *lan*, Oss. *inna*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣaṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēsaṇa*.

pt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

— § 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasaṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *satahāṭh*, Uṛ. *saṭsaṭhi*, Bang. *saṭsaṭṭhi*, Bihārī *sarasaṭh*, *sarasaṭhi*, *satasaṭhi*, Hindi *sarsaṭh*, *satsaṭh*, Panj. *satahaṭ*, Sindhi *sathaṭhi*, Guj. *saḍṣeṭh*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

$pt > t(t)$.

§ 666. The assimilation of pt to $t(t)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhi *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Sinh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, Sindhi *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av. $\sqrt{x^v}ap$ 'to sleep,' Phl. *x^vaftanō*, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmān*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xūt*, Vön. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xūt*, Waxī *rūxpam*, Šīyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanō* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmān*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gīl. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

$pt > d(d)$.

§ 667. The assimilation of pt to $d(d)$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afy. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afy. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

$pt > (d)dh$.

§ 668. The assimilation of pt to $(d)dh$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxī *hub*, (*h*)ub, Šīyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uð*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

$pt > pht, ft$.

§ 669. The spirantization of pt to ft occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

$pt > phth, fth$.

§ 670. The double spirantization of pt to $phth, fth$, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

$pt > b(b)$.

§ 671. The assimilation of pt to $b(b)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Waxī *hub*, (*h*)*ub*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > r(r)$.

§ 672. The assimilation of pt to $r(r)$ is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasat̥hi*, *sarasat̥h*, *satasat̥hi*, Hindī *sarsat̥h*, *satsat̥h*, etc. (see § 665).

$pt > v(v)$.

§ 673. The assimilation of pt to $v(v)$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > vd$.

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group pt to vd is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Yidg. *avduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

$pn > pp$.

§ 675. The assimilation of pn to pp is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prāk. *pāūṇaī*, *pāvaī*, Pāli *pappōti*, *pāpuṇāti*, Uṛ. *pā*, Bang. *pāō*, Old Hindī *pāū*, Hindī *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāu*, Sindhī *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Simh. *pāminēnavā*.

$pn > f(f)$.

§ 676. The assimilation of pn to $f(f)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

$pn > m(m)$.

§ 677. The assimilation of pn to $m(m)$ is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Simh. *pāminēnavā*, etc. (see § 675).

pny > *m(m)*.

§ 678. The assimilation of *pny* to *m(m)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšafnaya* 'supper,' Phl., New Pers. *šām*.

py > *p(p)*.

§ 679. The assimilation of *py* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppaī*, Pāli *kup-pati*, Bihārī *kōpāi*. Skt. *tapyatē* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati*.

pr > *p(p)*.

§ 680. The assimilation of *pr* to *p(p)* is the regular one, to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Ur. *paṭhārbā*, Bang. *pāṭhān*, Hindī *paṭhānā*, Sindhī *paṭhamu*, Guj. *pāṭhavum*, Mar. *pāṭaviṇṇm*.

pr > *r(r)*.

§ 681. The assimilation of *pr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmir dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vön. *baruš*, Kuhr. *baxrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šavaškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *fraš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frāz*, *fraš*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *razai*.

pr > *hl*.

§ 682. The assimilation of *pr* to *hl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafar*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *šōrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *šōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$pš > š(š)$.

§ 683. The assimilation of $pš$ to $š(š)$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl., New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. **fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š(u)pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxī *spūn*, *šūpūn*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

$ps > (c)ch$.

§ 684. The assimilation of ps to $(c)ch$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindī *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)uccharī*, *du(g)umcharī*, Pāli *jigucchati*.

$ps > bz$.

§ 685. The softening of ps to bz is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Old High Gorm. *wafsa*, Bal. *gvabz*, *gvamz*.

$ps > mz$.

§ 686. The assimilation of ps to mz is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Bal. *gvamz*, *gvabz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ps > vs$.

§ 687. The assimilation of ps to vs is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šīyn., Sarq. *avsār*.

$ps > s(s)$.

§ 688. The assimilation of ps to $s(s)$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *x^vafsītanō*, New Pers. *xuspidan*, Šīyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *russin*.

$pstr > str$.

§ 689. The assimilation of $pstr$ to str is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarāstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.

fs > *ps*.

§ 690. The hardening of Iranian *fs* to *ps* occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

bj > *j(j)*.

§ 691. The assimilation of *bj* to *j(j)* is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Kāśm. *kobb*, Uṛ. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubja*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubādā*.

bj > *bḍ*.

§ 692. The assimilation of *bj* to *bḍ* is very rare (cf. § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindī *kubrā* (rare), *kubbā*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

bj > *b(b)*.

§ 693. The assimilation of *bj* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kāśm. *kobb*, Hindī *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubādā*, etc. (see § 691).

bḍ > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 694. The assimilation of *bḍ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prāk., Pāli *sadda*, Old Hindī *sād*.

bḍh > *(ḍ)dh*.

§ 695. The assimilation of *bḍh* to *(ḍ)dh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prāk., Pāli *laddha*, Sindhī *ladhō*.

br > *b(b)*.

§ 696. The assimilation of *br* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pali *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhi *bāmbhaṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

bhy > (b)bh.

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pali *abbhantara*, U_r, Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindī *bhitar*, Guj. *bhitar*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhaṭ*, Pali *lubbhati*, Old Hindī *labbh*, Sindhi *labh*.

bhr > b(b).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to b(b) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, U_r. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhaṁvar*, *bhāumr*, Sindhi *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*, Sinh. *bambarā*.

bhr > (b)bh.

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāā*, Pali *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāi*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhi *bhāū*, Mar. *bhāū*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, U_r. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhaṁvar*, *bhāumr*, Sindhi *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*, etc. (see preceding §).

bhr > *vr*.

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to *vr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhāt(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kaš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gil. *brār*, Waxī *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrūr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṣ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *dwra* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*, Gab., Kaš. *avr*, Judaeo-Pers. *abr*, Afy. *varyaṣ*, Bal. *havr*, Kurd. (*h*)*avr*, *hāūr*, Oss. *arv*.

mn > mm.

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

mp > p(p).

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p(p)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pāli *parampara*, Siṃh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apab. Prāk. *campayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Siṃh. *sapu*.

mp > mb.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampaṣ*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaṃp*, Kaśm. *kaṃ(p)*, Uṛ. *kamp*, Bang. *kāṃp*, Hindī *kāṃp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kaṃb*, Guj., Mar. *kāṃp*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ḥampāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāstan* (written *anbāstan*).

mb > b(b).

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pāli *kambala*, Uṛ. *kamala*, Bang. *kambal*, *kaṃli*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Sindhī *kaṃari*, Guj. *kābalō*, *kāmal*, *kamālī*, Mar. *kāmbalā*.

mb > m(m).

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *jambuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhī *jāmān*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Uṛ. *kamaḷa*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammal*, *kaṁbal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kaṁbal*, Sindhī *kamari*, Guj. *kāmaḷ*, *kamaḷi*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *lim*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambāz* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīz*.

mbh > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prāk. *kumbhaāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumāmlyē*, Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhī *kum̐haru*, Guj., Mar. *kumbhār*.

mbh > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

mbh > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

mr > *mbr* > *mb*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *mb* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kāśm. *trām*, Uṛ. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbuṁ*, Mar. *tāmbēṁ*, Sinh. *tāmbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prāk., Pāli

am̐ba, U_r., Bang., Hindī *ām*, *amb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhi *ambu*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Siṃh. *amba*.

mr > *m̐r* > *m(m)*.

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m(m)* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, U_r. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhi *ṭāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' U_r., Bang. *ām*, *amb*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, etc. (see preceding §).

mv > *m(m)*.

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m(m)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamvārah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

m̐h > *m̐gh*.

§ 712. The assimilation of *m̐h* to *m̐gh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhar. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *sīha*, Pāli *sīha*, Gāthā *siṃha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sīṃgh*, *siṃgh*, *sīmh*, Panj. *siṃgh*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. and often written *siṃgh*).

rk > *k(k)*.

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prāk., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāmkar*, Bang. *kāmkar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkataka*, U_r., Bang. *kāmkarā*, E. Hindī *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindī *kāmkarā*, Sindhi *kāmkarō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' U_r., Bang. *kā(m)kuḍī*, Hindī, Panj. *ka(k)kaḍī*, Sindhi *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sākhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sikah*.

$rk > (k)kh.$

§ 714. The assimilation of rk to $(k)kh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sākhar*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rk > t(t).$

§ 715. The change of rk to $t(t)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 119 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk(k)ar*, Hindī *kuttā*, *kukkā*, Sindhī *kutō*, Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*.

$rk > tr.$

§ 716. The change of rk to tr is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rg > g(g).$

§ 717. The assimilation of rg to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prāk. *maggāṭ*, Pāli *maggati*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kāśm. *māmg*, Ur. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māmg*, Panj. *māmg*, Sindhī *mañ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

$rgr > (g)gh.$

§ 718. The assimilation of rgr to $(g)gh$ is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighamta*.

$rgh > g(g).$

§ 719. The assimilation of rgh to $g(g)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahagga*, Ass. *mahamgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimḡā*, Sindhī *mahamgō*, Guj. *mōmḡhum*, Mar. *mahāg*, Māladive *agu*.

rg̃h > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 720. The assimilation of *rg̃h* to (*g*)*gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghr̥ṇa* 'pitiless,' Prāk. *nigghṇa*. Skt. *argha* 'sacrifice,' Pāli *aggha*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *ḍiggha*, *ḍiha*, Pāli *ḍigha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

rg̃h > *h*(*h*).

§ 721. The assimilation of *rg̃h* to *h*(*h*) is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *ḍiha*, *ḍiggha*, etc. (see preceding §).

rj > *j*(*j*).

§ 722. The assimilation of *rj* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prāk. *gajjida*, Pāli *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pāli *gajjana*, Hindī *gājanā*, Panj. *gajjanā*, Sindhī *gaḷanu*, Guj. *gājavuṃ*, Mar. *gājanēm*.

rj > *rz*.

§ 723. The change of *rj* to *rz* is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arzān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ašū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afy. *yarz*.

rj > *š*(*š*).

§ 724. The assimilation of *rj* to *š*(*š*) is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Kāš. *ašū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

rjh > (*j*)*j̥h*.

§ 725. The assimilation of *rjh* to (*j*)*j̥h* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prāk., Pāli *nijjhara*.

rṇ > *ṇ*(*ṇ*).

§ 726. The assimilation of *rṇ* to *ṇ*(*ṇ*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pāli *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kāśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunani*, *sōnēm*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

$rṇ > n(n)$.

§ 727. The assimilation of $rṇ$ to $n(n)$ is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *karna* 'ear,' Pāli *kaṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhī *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmraparṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(m)ni*, Pāli *tambapannī* (Gr. Ταμποβάνη). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kāśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunani*, *sōnēm*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pāli *unṇa*, Hindī *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhī, Guj. *un*.

$rṇ > r(r)$.

§ 728. The assimilation of $rṇ$ to $r(r)$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pāli *cunṇa*, Kāśm. *čūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī, Panj. *cunā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pāli *puṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhī *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

$rt > rth$.

§ 729. The aspirization of rt to rth is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarata* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxī *sūr(i)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

$rt > t(t)$.

§ 730. The assimilation of rt to $t(t)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *natṭai*, Pāli

naṭṭaki, New Ind. dialects *naṭi*. Skt. *vantakā* 'quail,' Pāli *vaṭṭakā*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *vaṭer*, Sindhī *baṭērō*, Sinh. *vaṭuvā*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prāk. *gaḍḍa*, Uṛ. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindī *gaḍ*, *gāḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhī *gāraṇu*, Guj. *gāravuṃ*, Mar. *gāraṇēm*.

rt > t(t).

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prāk., Pāli *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pāli *āvatta*, *āvatta*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vaṭṭikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartari* 'scissors,' Prāk. *kattari*, Uṛ. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindī, Panj. *kataranī*, Sindhī *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šīyn. *cəd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*.

rt > rd.

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardīj*, Waxī *volc*, Afy. *nvaraz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

rt > r(r).

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Waxī *sūr(ī)*, Kurd. *sar*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kır*, *kird*, etc. (see § 733).

rt > l(l).

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l(l)* is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *parətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *pul*, Gil. *purđ*, Kurd. *pêl*, *par*, *pird*, *purđ*.

rt > ld.

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *sald*, etc. (see § 729).

rt > hl.

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *parətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

rth > t(t).

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭha*), Pālī *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pālī *catuttha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, Bang. *cāuṭā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuṭhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōṭhō*, Mar. *cāumṭhā*.

rth > (t)th.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)th* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭha*, Pālī *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cauṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śaur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rth > (t)th.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pālī *catuttha*,

Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*, etc. (see § 739).

rth > *hl*.

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

rd > *ḍ(ḍ)*

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chaḍḍati*, Pāli *chaḍḍeti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *ċar*, Ur., Bang. *chār*, Old Hindī *chamḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *chāmṛ*, Panj. *chaḍḍ*, Sindhī *chaḍ*, Mar. *sāmṛ*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍāhu*, Guj. *gadhērū*, Mar. *gādhav*, Gyp. *khel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

rd > (*ḍ*)*dh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to (*ḍ*)*dh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gādhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

rd > *ḍ(d)*.

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caṭuddaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *ċōdāh*, Ur. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindī *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḍaham*, Guj. *caṛḍ*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gad-daha*, *gaḍḍaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to (*d*)*dh* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadhērō*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *r(r)*.

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r(r)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapardikā* 'small shell,' Prāk. *kavaḍḍa*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāuri*, *kāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *cowry*.

rd > *l(l)*.

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *bailla*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

rdh > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhaṭ*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Kāśm. *baḍ*, Ur. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vaḍh*, Mar. *bāḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saddha*, Kāśm. *sādu*, Ur. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Simh. *aḍa*.

rdh > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhaṭ*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Ur. *barḥ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *barḥāi*, Panj. *baḍḍhi*, Sindhī, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥāi*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*,

saddha, Ur., E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṛhē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rdh > (d)dh.

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to (d)dh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

rdhv > (d)dh.

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (d)dh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rdhv > (b)bh.

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (b)bh is frequent in the Indian dialects (*rdhv* > *ddhv* > *ddhb* > *dhb* > *bbh*).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rn > n(n).

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to n(n) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afyān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar(r)*, Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, Afy. *kōn*, *kūn*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī *par*, Afy. *pāna*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

rn > n(n).

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to n(n) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Šīyn. *vūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yāyn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rn > r(r)$.

§ 756. The assimilation of rn to $r(r)$ is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrah*, Waxī *ḍōr*, Sarq. *ḍar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *xʷarənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *viḍa]*farnah, Phl. *farn[ba*g, New Pers. *far(r)*.

$rn > l(l)$.

§ 757. The assimilation of rn to $l(l)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

$rp > p(p)$.

§ 758. The assimilation of rp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kapūr*, except Mar. *kūpūr*.

$rb > b(b)$.

§ 759. The assimilation of rb to $b(b)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pāli *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dubar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubal*.

$rbh > (b)bh$.

§ 760. The assimilation of rbh to $(b)bh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prāk., Pāli *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gabhū*, *garabhū*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

$rm > m(m)$.

§ 761. The assimilation of rm to $m(m)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *comm*, Sindhī *camu*, Sinh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhī *kamu*, Sinh. *kama*.

$rm > r(r)$.

§ 762. The assimilation of rm to $r(r)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *careman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmin*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma*, New Pers., Šīyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *šürm*, Afy. *γārma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γar*, *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

$ry > j(j)$.

§ 763. The assimilation of ry to $j(j)$ is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śaur. Prāk. *kēra*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindī, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhī *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

$ry > r(r)$.

§ 764. The assimilation of ry to $r(r)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Uṛ. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Sinh. *(h)iru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciṛya* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *cīr*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

$ry > rj$.

§ 765. The change of ry to rj is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhī *kārju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

ry > *l(l)*.

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *paryāṅka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliāmka*, Pāli *pallamka*, New Ind. *palamg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *paryāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, Uṛ. *palāṇa*, Bang. *palāṇ*, Hindī *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhī *palāṇu*, Guj. *palāṇ(ō)*, Mar. *pālāṇ*.

rv > *p(p)*.

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pāli *cappēti*, Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *caḃ*, Guj., Mar. *cāv*, Sinh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

rv > *b(b)*.

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b(b)* is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *caḃ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Sinh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Uṛ. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

rv > *(b)bh*.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindī, E. Hindī *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

rv > *rbh*.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rbh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pāli *pabba*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *parab*, Sindhī *pirbhu*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.

$rv > r(r)$.

§ 771. The assimilation of rv to $r(r)$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

$rv > v(v)$.

§ 772. The assimilation of rv to $v(v)$ is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, etc. (see § 768).
Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sirh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

$rś > ṛs$.

§ 773. The change of $rś$ to $ṛs$ is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daṛṣana*, Ass. *dar-sana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhī *darsaṇu*.

$rś > s(s)$.

§ 774. The assimilation of $rś$ to $s(s)$ is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindī, Panj. *phamsanā*, Sindhī *phasāṇu*, Guj. *phasavum*, Mar. *phasanēm*.

$rśv > s(s)$.

§ 775. The assimilation of $rśv$ to $s(s)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhī, Guj. *pāsē*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsim*, Gyp. *paš*.

$rśv > h(h)$.

§ 776. The assimilation of $rśv$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare (cf. § 401).

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s} > (\dot{d})\dot{d}h$.

§ 777. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $(\dot{d})\dot{d}h$ is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Ur. *kārhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindī *kārhnā*, Panj. *karrhanā*, Sindhī *karhaṇu*, Guj. *kjhāravum*, Mar. *kārhanēm*.

$r\dot{s} > r(r)$.

§ 778. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśīrṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasīru*, Ur. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhī *maṃghīru*.

$r\dot{s} > rz$.

§ 779. The change of $r\dot{s}$ to rz is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barōša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afy. *vraš*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barza*, Tag. *barz*.

$r\dot{s} > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 780. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$r\dot{s}, r\acute{s} > \acute{s}(\acute{s}), \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 781. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}, r\acute{s}$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s}), \acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prāk. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barōša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayən* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašṭanō*, New Pers. *kašūdan*, Afy. *kšul*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišān*.

$r\dot{s} > s(s)$.

§ 782. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $s(s)$ occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, li *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Simh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 780).

$rṣ > h(h)$.

§ 783. The assimilation of $rṣ$ to $h(h)$ is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṛṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prāk. *kāhāvaṇa*, Pāli *kahāpaṇa*, Ur. *kāhāṇa*, Bang. *kāhaṇ*, Hindī *kahān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Simh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Simh. *vahinu*, Maladive *vehenī*.

$rśn > kh, x$.

§ 784. The assimilation of $rśn$ to kh, x , is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(i)*, Šīyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*.

$rśn > n(n)$.

§ 785. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $n(n)$ is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tanī*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rśn > r(r)$.

§ 786. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(i)*, etc. (see § 784).

$rśn > rs$.

§ 787. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rs is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurz*.

$rśn > rz$.

§ 788. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rz is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 789. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}n$.

§ 790. The reduction of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}n$ is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{z}(\dot{z})$.

§ 791. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{z}(\dot{z})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tažai*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}v > \dot{s}v$.

§ 792. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}v$ to $\dot{s}v$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'clime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

$rs > hl$.

§ 793. The transposition of rs to hl is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəsu* 'side,' Phl. *pahlūk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

$rz > l(l)$.

§ 794. The assimilation of rz to $l(l)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bāliš*, Gab. *bālišť*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōlišť*.

$rh > r(r)$.

§ 795. The assimilation of rh to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

$rh > l(l)$.

§ 796. The assimilation of rh to $l(l)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *gārī*.

$lk > k(k)$.

§ 797. The assimilation of lk to $k(k)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor,' Prāk., Pāli *ukkā*, Hindi *lukā*, Sindhi *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *vakkala*, Sindhi *bakaru*.

$lg > g(g)$.

§ 798. The assimilation of lg to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valgulī* 'bat,' Pāli *vaggulī*.

$lp > p(p)$.

§ 799. The assimilation of lp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pāli *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhār. Prāk. *kappaē*, Pāli *kappati*, Sinh. *kapanavā*.

$lm > mb$.

§ 800. The assimilation of lm to mb is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jāina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbali*, Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simabal*, *simmal*, Mar. *sāmvar*.

$lm > m(m)$.

§ 801. The assimilation of lm to $m(m)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simmal*, *simabal*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pāli *jamma*.

$lm > mv$.

§ 802. The change of lm to mv is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 324, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāmvar*, etc. (see § 800).

ly > *l(l)*.

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prāk., Pāli *kalla*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *kālī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāl*, *kālh*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhi *kāl̥h*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

ly > *(l)lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to *(l)lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindī, Hindī *kālh*, *kāl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhi *kāl̥h*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mālyā* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kāsm. *mōl*, Uṛ. *mula*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhi *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

lv > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

lv > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lv* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pāli *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khalvāṭa* 'bald,' Prāk. *khallūḍa*, Pāli *khallāṭa*.

vy > *b(b)*.

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372). In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śivayati* 'sews,' Pāli *sibbatī*. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Uṛ. *bitibā*, Hindī *bitnā*, Panj. *bititānā*, Guj. *vaṭavum*. Skt. *vyamśana* 'division,' Hindī *bāchnā*, Panj. *bamchuanā*, Sindhi *virchanu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

vy > *v(v)*.

§ 808. The assimilation of *vy* to *v(v)* occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatita* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavun*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

vr > *v(v)*.

§ 809. The assimilation of *vr* to *v(v)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvaśī* nom. prop., Prāk. *uvvaśī*. Skt. *vr̥hi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pali *v̥hi*, Sinh. *vī*.

śc > *c(c)*.

§ 810. The assimilation of *śc* to *c(c)* is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pali *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindi, Panj. *acaraj*, Sindhi *acaraj*, *acarat*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *piśē*, *pāśē*), Kaśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *piśē*), Hindi *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pichū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*.

śc > *(c)ch*.

§ 811. The assimilation of *śc* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vim̐cua*, *vicchua*, *vim̐chua*, Pali *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kaśm. *bīc*, *būch*, Ur., Bang. *bichā*, E. Hindi *biccu*, Hindi *bichuā*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhi *vichūm*, Guj. *vichu*, *vim̐chū*, Mar. *viñcū*, *vim̐chām*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindi *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pichū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

śc > *s(s)*.

§ 812. The assimilation of *śc* to *s(s)* is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *piṣē*, *pāṣē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *piṣē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Sinh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

Syncope of śc.

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhi *pōḷ*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścatvāriṃśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *teālīsā*, Kāśm. *tēyatajīh*, Bihārī *tāmtālīs*, Hindī *teālīs*, *tētālīsā*, *tāimtālīs*, Sindhi *ṭētālīh*.

śm > m(m).

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāṇa*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāṇa*, Jaina Prāk. *siyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, Uṛ. *maśāṇa*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindī *masān*, Panj. *masāṇ*, Sindhi *masāṇu*, Guj. *masān*, Mar. *masaṇ*.

śm > s(s).

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jaina Prāk. *siyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmī*, *raṃsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *rasi*), Kāśm. *raz*, Uṛ. Bang. *rasi*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhi *rasi*, Mar. *rassī*.

śr > ṃj.

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṃj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṃsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kāśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āṃsū*, Uṛ. *ōṃjhū*, *āṃsū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṃsū*, Panj. *aṃjhu*, Sindhi *haṃj*, Guj. *āṃju*, Mar. *aṃsū*, *āsū*.

śr > ṃjh.

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṃjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āśru* 'tear,' Ur. *ōmjhū*, *āmsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śr > *ś(ś)*.

§ 818. The assimilation of *śr* to *ś(ś)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Ur. *śuṇibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

śr > *s(s)*.

§ 819. The assimilation of *śr* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *āśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *āmsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āmsū*, Ur. *āmsū*, *ōmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āmsū*, Mar. *āmsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śl > *s(s)*.

§ 820. The assimilation of *śl* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēmha*, Simh. *sem(a)*.

śv > *s(s)*.

§ 821. The assimilation of *śv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *āśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pāli *assa*, Simh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhī *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsā*, Mar. *sāsū*. Skt. *śvāsa* 'breath,' Prāk., Pāli *sāsa*, Sindhī *sāhu*.

ṣk > k(k).

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛta* 'evil,' Prāk. *dukkada*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pāli *dukkata*, *dukkata*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukka*, *sukkha*, Pāli *sukkha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kāśm. *hōkh*, Uṛ., Bang. *śukā*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukku*, Sindhī *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇu* 'dragging out,' Pāli *nikkadḍha*, Hindī *nikālanā*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsaṇā*, *nikkālaṇā*, Sindhī *nikāraṇum*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāi-num*, Guj. *nikālavum*, *nikāsavum*, Mar. *nikāṭanēm*, *nikāl*.

ṣk > (k)kh.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukkha*, *sukka*, Pāli *suk-kha*, Kāśm. *hōkh*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prāk., Pāli *pokkhara*, Uṛ. *pōkhari*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindī, Mar. *pōkhar*.

ṣt > t(t).

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣt* to *t(t)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pāli *maṭṭa*, *matṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śaiṭh*, *śēṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiṣ*, Bang. *sāṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Simh. *sāṭa*.

ṣt > (t)ṭh.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣt* to *(t)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *lāṭhi*, Hindī *laṭhi*, *lāṭ(ṭ)*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhī *lāṭhi*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāṭ*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭau* 'eight,' Prāk.,

Pāli *at̥tha*, Kāśm. *āṭh*, Uṛ. *āṭha*, Bang. *āṭa*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *at̥th*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prak. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *sāiṭh*, *śeṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāeṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

ṣṭ > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, Uṛ. *bhērā*, *bērḥā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vaḍehō*, *vērḥā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *lēṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhar. Prak. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

ṣṭ > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Uṛ. *bērḥā*, *bhērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vērḥā*, *vaḍehō*, Mar. *vēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindī, Panj. *rūḍh*.

ṣṭr > *(ṭ)ṭ*.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel,' Prak. *uṭṭa*, Kāśm. *(v)ūmṭh*, Bihārī *ū(m)ṭ*, Sindhī *uṭhu*.

ṣṭr > *(ṭ)ṭh*.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahārāṭṭha*, Sindhī *marāṭhi*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

ṣṭr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prak. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *dāṭhā*, Uṛ. *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Bang. *dār(ṭ)*, Hindī *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Panj. *dāhaḍ(ṭ)*, Sindhī *ḍāṭh*, *ḍāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhi*, *ḍāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Sirhh. *dala*.

$\text{ṣṭr} > (\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$.

§ 831. The assimilation of ṣṭr to $(\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, U_r., Hindi *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *dāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣṭr} > \text{ḷ}(\text{ḷ})$.

§ 832. The assimilation of ṣṭr to $\text{ḷ}(\text{ḷ})$ is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see § 830).

$\text{ṣṭr} > \text{h}(\text{h})$.

§ 833. The assimilation of ṣṭr to $\text{h}(\text{h})$ is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhād(ṭ)*, Guj. *dāhār*, *dāḍhī*, etc. (see § 830).

$\text{ṣṭh} > \text{ṭ}(\text{ṭ})$.

§ 834. The assimilation of ṣṭh to $\text{ṭ}(\text{ṭ})$ is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pāli *koṭṭha*, New Ind. dialects *koṭṭ*, *koṭṭh*.

$\text{ṣṭh} > (\text{ṭ})\text{ṭh}$.

§ 835. The assimilation of ṣṭh to $(\text{ṭ})\text{ṭh}$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *putṭhi*, Pāli *piṭṭha*, Ass., U_r. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *pṭ*, Hindi *pṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *putṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *pṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, Gyp. *pūṣto*. Skt. *gōṣṭhī* 'assembly,' Prāk. *gotṭhī*, Pāli *gotṭha*, Sindhi *gōṭhu*, Mar. *gotṭhī*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prāk. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pāli *oṭṭha*, Kāśm. *vuṭh*, U_r. *ōṭha*, Bihārī *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindi *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣt*.

$\text{ṣṭh} > \text{ḍ}(\text{ḍ})$.

§ 836. The assimilation of ṣṭh to $\text{ḍ}(\text{ḍ})$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' U_r. *kudha*, Bang. *kudī*, Sindhi *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōr*, *kōrh*, *kōhōr*.

$\text{ṣṭh} > (\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$.

§ 837. The assimilation of ṣṭh to $(\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' U_r. *kuḍha*, Sindhi *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōrh*, *kōr*, *kōhōr*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$.

§ 838. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇ(ṇ)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *uṇha* (but Pāli *sītunnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *sītunhaka*), Sindhi *uṇ*, Guj. *unhum*, Mar. *ūnha*, Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(n)$.

§ 839. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇ(n)$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 840. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prāk., Pāli *kaṇha*, Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Sindhi *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > n(n)$.

§ 841. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $n(n)$ occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pāli *sītunnaka*, *sītunhaka*, Mar. *ūnha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhi *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 842. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhum*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$.

§ 843. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $h(h)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *tiṇhā*, *tasīṇā*, Panj. *tiḥā*, Sindhi *tīh*, Mar. *tahān*.

sp > *p(p)*.

§ 844. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śāur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bhāp*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Kāśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindī *puhup*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phāl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhi *niputrō*.

sp > *(p)ph*.

§ 845. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bā(m)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

sp > *h(h)*.

§ 846. The assimilation of *sp* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kāśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

sm > *(b)bh*.

§ 847. The assimilation of *sm* to *(b)bh* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindī *ūbh*, Mar. *umhāl*. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gimbha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindī *garīsam*, Mar. *gimbh*, *gīm*.

sm > *m(m)*.

§ 848. The assimilation of *sm* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gim*, *gimbh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣm > *mh*.

§ 849. The change of *ṣm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk., Pāli *gimha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Mar. *umhal*, etc. (see § 847).

ṣy > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 850. The change of *ṣy* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *sīsa*, Pāli *sissa*, Sindhi *sikhu*.

ṣy > *śś*.

§ 851. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *śś* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Ur. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindi *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*.

ṣy > *s(s)*.

§ 852. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prāk. *sūsaṭ*, Pāli *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Hindi *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣy > *h(h)*.

§ 853. The change of *ṣy* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhāmi*, *hōhimi*, *hossāmi*, Pāli *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*, etc. (see § 851).

sk > *k(k)*.

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k(k)* is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *taskara* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kāmdhā*, Sindhi, Guj. *kāmdhō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Eḷu *kaṁda*, Māladive *koḍu*.

sk > (k)kh.

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to (k)kh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Mar. *khāmdā*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > c(c).

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to c(c) is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāš*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

sc > š(š).

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to š(š) is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāš*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > šk.

§ 858. The change of *sc* to šk is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanō*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

sc > s(s).

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to s(s) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 860. The change of *st* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khambha*, *thambha*, Pāli *thambha*, Ur. *khambh(ā)*, *kham(bā)*, Bang. *khambā*, Hindī, Panj. *thamb*, Sindhī *thambhu*, Guj. *khāmb*, *khambh*, *thamb*, Mar. *khāmb*, Sinh. *ṭamba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

st > *t(t)*.

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to *t(t)* is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Sinh. *ṭamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > *t(t)*.

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jaina Prāk. *tēṇiya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pāli *hīyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kāsm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), Ur., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāra*, New Pers. *tar*.

st > (*t*)*th*.

§ 863. The assimilation of *st* to (*t*)*th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *pōthaka*, Kāsm. *pāth*, Ur. *pōthā*, Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *pōthī*, Sinh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kāsm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pāli *patthara*, Ur. *pathara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindī, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhī *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pāli *thana*, Ur., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *than*, Panj. *than*, Sindhī *thanu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Sinh. *tana*.

st > *s(s)*.

§ 864. The assimilation of *st* to *s(s)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās*, *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*.

sty > *ṭh*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ṭh*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pāli *ṭhīna*, *thīna*.

sth > (k)kh.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthānu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khānu*, *khannu*, 'firm,' *thānu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 309.]

sth > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṭ(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haddī*, Panj. *haddī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Sinh. *aṭa*.

sth > (t)ṭh.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to (t)ṭh is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāna*, *thāna*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thanī*, Uṛ. *ṭhaṇū*, *thānā*, Bang. *thaṇā*, *thūn*, Hindī *ṭhannā*, *thānā*, Panj. *ṭhṇ*, *thūnā*, Sindhi *ṭhānu*, *thānu*, Guj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thāṇ*, Mar. *ṭhān*, *thār*, Sinh. *ṭāna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

sth > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haddī*, Panj. *haddī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

sth > *t(t)*.

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Uṛ. *thira*, Hindī *ṭhir*, Sinh. *tara*. Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pāli *thālī*, Uṛ., Panj. *ṭhālī*, Guj. *thalō*, Mar. *thālā*, Sinh. *tulī*, Maladive *telī*.

sth > (t)th.

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāna*, *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thāni*, Ur. *thānā*, *ṭhānā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhāṇ*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pali *thira*, Ur. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. *-stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

sth > *st*.

§ 872. The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛhastha* 'householder,' Pali *gahaṭṭha*, Bihārī *girhast*, Hindī *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

sth > ś(ś).

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to ś(ś) is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

sn > ṇh.

§ 874. The change of *sn* to ṇh is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pali *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūṇā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēm*.

sn > n(n).

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to n(n) occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha*, *siṇēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pali *s(i)nēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhī *nīmhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoḍa* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōḍ*, N. Bal. *nōḍ*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nšōr*, Bal. *našār*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavarə* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *nvar*.

sn > *nh*.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūṇā*, etc. (see § 874).

sp > *p(p)*.

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaṭṭi*, *vaṇapphaṭṭi*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass. \sqrt{pas} , Bang. *sparśa* (pron. *pōrśō*), Hindī, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəza* 'spleen,' Phl. *spārz*, New Pers. *supurz*, Kāš. *aspūl*, *aspōl*, Tāt *sūpūl*, Kurd. *pišik*.

sp > *(p)ph*.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phamdana*, Pāli *phandana*, Hindī *phāmdanā*, Panj. *phāmdanā*, Mar. *phāmdanēm*.

sp > *s(s)*.

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaṭṭi*, *vaṇapphaṭṭi*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaṭṭi*, *bhaassaṭṭi*, *bahappaṭṭi*, *bhaappaṭṭi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

yafs. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl., New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istir*, *histir*.

sp > *sp̥h*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sp̥h*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospenta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt̥*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afγ. *sp̥in*, Kurd. (i) *sp̥i*.

sp > *s̥b*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *s̥b* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

sp̥h > (k) *kh*.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sp̥h* to (k) *kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sp̥hōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*. [So the Prākrit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 311.]

sp̥h > (p) *ph*.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sp̥h* to (p) *ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sp̥huṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sp̥hōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*.

sm > *m̥h*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *m̥h* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *amhi*, Pāli *amhi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vimhaa*, Pāli *vimhaya*, Sindhī *viṣāi*.

sm > *s(s)*.

§ 885. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhi *visāi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindī, Panj. *surat*, Sindhi *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *saraī*, *sumaraī*, Pāli *sarati*, *sumarati*.

sm > *sb*.

§ 886. The change of *sm* to *sb* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

sm > *s(z)*.

§ 887. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(z)* is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

sm > *zm*.

§ 888. The softening of *sm* to *zm* is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Gab. *izma*, etc. (see preceding §).

sm > *šm*.

§ 889. The change of *sm* to *šm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *ašmān*, etc. (see § 886).

sy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 890. The change of *sy* to (*j*)*jh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāmsya*, *kāmsa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kāmsia*, Pāli *kāmsa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *kāmsā*, Panj. *kāmsī*, Sindhi *kāmjhō*, Guj. *kāmsuin*, Mar. *kāmsēm* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. **tusya*).●

sy > *s(s)*.

§ 891. The assimilation of *sy* to *s(s)* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śāl*, Hindī *sāl*, Panj. *sālā*, Sindhī *sālō*, Guj. *sālō*, *sālō*, Mar. *sālā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

sy > ś(ṣ).

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to ś(ṣ) is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, etc. (see preceding §).

sr > (k)kh.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to (k)kh is extremely rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraoni* 'thigh,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxī *šunj*, Šīyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

sr > *ls*.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to *ls* is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (h)istīr, *asr*.

sr > s(s).

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to s(s) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *saḥasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prāk. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Sinh. *sō*, *soya*, (h)oya.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusū*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x^vāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

sr > *sl*.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to *sl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

sr > ś(ṣ).

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to ś(ṣ) is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afy. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afy. *x^vāša*, etc. (see § 895).

sr > h(h).

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h(h)* is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *hoya*, *oya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

Aphaeresis of sr.

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

sv > Iranian x^v, hv > k(k).

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k(k)*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *x^vaftanō*, New Pers. *xuspādan*, Sīv. *fatan*, Tāl. *asp*, Waxī *xōfsam*, Šīyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Zaza *knana*.

sv > Iranian x^v, hv > (k)kh, x.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to *(k)kh*, *x*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *x^var*, New Pers. *xur*, Šīyn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*, Tag. *xūr*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Phl. *x^varātanō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Gab. *xartin*, Sīv. *fūrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamūn*, Vön. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tāl. *bahardēn*, Šīyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^varam*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*, Afy. *xōral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *sax^vārə* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *sucun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

sv > Iranian x^v, hv > nm, nv.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 929 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > (p)*ph*, *f*.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (p)*ph*, *f*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 371 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Sīv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901).
Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Sīv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *v*(*v*).

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to *v*(*v*), through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *x^vaš*, *xuš* 'good,' Pāz. *x^vaš*, New Pers. *xuš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *xuš*, *xōš*, Šīyn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, etc. (see § 901).

sv > *s*(*s*).

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmī*, *suwāmī*, Uṛ., Bang. *śāim*, Hindī, Panj. *sāim*, Sindhī *sāmīm*, Siṁh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindī *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhī *sāgō*, Guj. *sagum*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svāṅga* 'mimicry,' Hindī, Panj. *sāmg*, Sindhī *sāngu*, Guj., Mar. *sōmg*.

sv > *h*(*h*), and *sv* > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *h*(*h*).

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to *h*(*h*) is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Siṁh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Tāl. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901).
Av. *x^vaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^vaī*, *x^vēdē*, New Pers. *x^vai*, Waxī *xīl*, Sarq. *xaiḍ*, Afy. *x^valē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x^v, hv.

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsa* 'sleep!' Tāl. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

šk > *c(c)*.

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *c(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xuš**k*, Kāš. *uš**k*, Waxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

šk > *s(s)*.

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

šk > *sk*.

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *sk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxī *vask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

šk > *š(š)*.

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gil. *pīca*, Waxī *piš*, Šīyn. *paš*, Afy. *pišō*, Bal. *pūši*, *piši*, Kurd. *pīšik*.

šk > *šc*.

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk*, Šīyn. *pašc*, Afy. *paca*.

št > *kht*, *xt*.

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

št > khs, xs.

§ 914. The change of *št* to *khs, xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

št > t(t).

§ 915. The assimilation of *št* to *t(t)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāt*, *hāθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afy. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afy. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

št > (t)th.

§ 916. The assimilation of *št* to *(t)th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, etc. (see § 914).

št > l(l).

§ 917. The assimilation of *št* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Waxī *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

št > s(s).

§ 918. The assimilation of *št* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sīv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

št > šk.

§ 919. The change of *št* to *šk* is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *aška*, etc. (see § 914).

šty > št.

§ 920. The assimilation of *šty* to *št* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

$\acute{s}n > khn, xn$.

§ 921. The change of $\acute{s}n$ to *khn*, *xn*, is very rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāšnah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puxnā*, Afy. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūm̄sig*, *pīm̄z*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, Kurd. *pānī*.

$\acute{s}n > d(d), nd$.

§ 922. The change of $\acute{s}n$ to *d(d)*, *nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afy. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phīd*, *phīz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{s}n > n(n)$.

§ 923. The assimilation of $\acute{s}n$ to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

$\acute{s}n > z(z), m̄z$.

§ 924. The assimilation of $\acute{s}n$ to *z(z)*, *m̄z*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūm̄sig*, *pīm̄z*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, etc. (see § 921).

$\acute{s}m > m(m)$.

§ 925. The assimilation of $\acute{s}m$ to *m(m)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Waxī *cōšm*, Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

$\acute{s}m > v(v)$.

§ 926. The assimilation of $\acute{s}m$ to *v(v)* is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

šm > *sm*.

§ 927. The change of *šm* to *sm* is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yušmākam* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

šm > *š(š)*.

§ 928. The assimilation of *šm* to *š(š)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Gil. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

šm > *šm*.

§ 929. The softening of *šm* to *šm* occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cōšm*, etc. (see § 925).

šy > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 930. The assimilation of *šy* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šutha*, Kurd. *čian*, Oss. *čaun*.

šy > *š(š)*.

§ 931. The assimilation of *šy* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šutha*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *sāt(īh)*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

šy > *š(š)*.

932. The softening of *šy* to *š(š)* is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

zg > *zg*.

§ 933. The change of *zg* to *zg* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *māyž*.

zd > z(z).

§ 934. The assimilation of *zd* to *z(z)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *nazda* 'near,' Phl. *nazdik*, New Pers. *naz-d(ih)*, Sarq. *nizd*, Afy. *nizdē*, *niždē*, Bal. *nažik*, N. Bal. *naž(x)*, Kurd. *nizūk*, *nēžik*.

zr > dr.

§ 935. The change of *zr* to *dr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *zrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *zarāh*, *zirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *zirā*.

zv > zm.

§ 936. The change of *zv* to *zm* is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (h)*užvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šīyn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, Oss. *awzag*.

zb > žb.

§ 937. The change of *zb* to *žb* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Afy. *žiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

žd > z(z).

§ 938. The assimilation of *žd* to *z(z)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *dužd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *duz*.

žd > zd.

§ 939. The change of *žd* to *zd* is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *dušdah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *duzd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīšda* 'reward,' Phl. *mušd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *mušd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Oss. *mīzd*.

hn > *nh*.

§ 940. The metathesis of *hn* to *nh* is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vañhi*, Sindhi *bāhi*.

hn > *n(n)*.

§ 941. The assimilation of *hn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciñha*, *cindha*, Nāip. *cimnu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindī *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhi *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *cimha*.

hn > *ndh*.

§ 942. The change of *hn* to *ndh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciñha*, etc. (see preceding §).

hn > *h(h)*.

§ 943. The assimilation of *hn* to *h(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhi *bāhi*, etc. (see § 940).

hm > *m(m)*.

§ 944. The assimilation of *hm* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhana*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhi *bāmbhaṇu*, Simh. *bamba*.

hm > *mb*.

§ 945. The change of *hm* to *mb* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Simh. *bamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

hm > mbh.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhi *bāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

hy > j(j).

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *gūjhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

hy > (j)jh.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to *(j)jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prāk. *najjhaṭ*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *gūjhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > (b)bh.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to *(b)bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jibbhā*, *jihā*, Pali *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāsm. *zēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jibh*, excepting Sindhi *jibh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dā*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pali *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindi *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

hv > v(v).

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Sinh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > h(h).

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindi *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

Syncope of hv.

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kaśm. *zēo*, Māladive *dū*, etc. (see § 949).

Anusvāra and Anunāsika.

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all vargas in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *q* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *simgh*, Sindhī *simghō*, *śimhu*, other New Ind. dialects *simh* (pron. *simgh*). Skt., Prāk. *hamsa* 'goose,' E. Hindī *hāms*, *hans*. Skt. *śrṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *simkar*, *sikar*, *sik(l)ar*, Hindī *sikar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saṁgharō*, Guj. *saṁghal*, Mar. *sāṁkhal*, *sākhal*, *sikrī*. Skt. *kuṇḍikā* 'key,' Kaśm. *kuṇz*, Ur. *kuṁcī*, *kuṁjhī*, *kuji*, Bang. *kūmjī*, *kūjī*, Hindī, Panj. *kuṁjī*, Sindhī *kuṁjī*, Guj. *kuṁcī*, Mar. *kuṁjī*. Skt. *śaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāmr*, Bang. *ṣāmr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāmr*, Panj. *sāṁḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāmh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṁḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāmd(h)*, Ur., Bang. *kāmdh*, Bihārī *kāmdhā*, *khamdā*, Hindī *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khamdō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Sinh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

kampai, *kampai*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kamp*, Kāśm. *kam(p)*, Hindi *kāmp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhi *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kāmp*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇīm*, *dāṇi*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahim*, E. Hindi, Hindi *dahī*, Panj. *dahim*, Sindhi *ḍahim*, Guj., Mar. *dahim*.

Visarga.

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *h* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindi *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antahkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindi *antahkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindi *niḥsvās* (pron. *nivās*), *nivās*.

Metathesis.

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jaina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *daha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *aṇāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua*, *lahua*, Pāli *lahuka*, Ur., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindi *haluk*, Hindi *halakā*, Sindhi *halkō*, Guj. *halakum*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakata* 'stupid,' Pāli *kasata*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhi *garahu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gaḍhav*. Skt. *kṣepaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Ur. *phimḡibā*, *pa-kārbā*, Hindi, Panj. *phēmknā*, Sindhi *phakanu*, Guj. *phēmknā*, Mar. *phēmknēm*. Skt. *vrudati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buddar*, Ur., Bang. *buḍ*, Hindi *būḍ*, Sindhi *būḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside Ur., Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbanā*, Sindhi *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *dubanu*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihai*, Kāśm. *prāv*, Ur. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *pahir*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṇ*, *pehraṇ* 'shirt.' Skt. *biḍāla* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindī, Hindī *biṭār*, Guj. *biḷāḍī*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Siṃh. **haimuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Ur. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Siṃh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Siṃh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *picumanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *pucimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šīr. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kūhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxī *sōkr*, Šīy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *vafir*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(i)*, Šīyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *baxl*, New Pers. *balx*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, (h) *istīr*. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*. Av. *vitasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afy. *vlišť*, *vlēšť*, *lvišť*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšu* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špūn*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *sruv*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srumbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *savr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxī *pōtr*, Šīyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pār*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.

Assimilation of syllables.

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nerañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bāṅ. *nivānavat*, Bihārī, Hindī *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍīnāvē*, Sindhī *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl. *navāxun*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nāk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *ānīnak* (read *ādvīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *āyīnah*, Bal. *āden(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Dissimilation of syllables.

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Siṃh. *takul*. Skt. *jalukikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipilika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipilika*.

Loss of syllables.

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avata* 'ditch,' Prāk. *ada*, Siṃh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādēvī* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvī*. Skt. *dēvakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaūla*, *dēvakula*, Uṛ. *dēula*, Bāṅ., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvāla*, Sindhī *dēvilī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēul*. Skt. *dvādaśa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pāli *dvādasa*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bāṅ. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *barah*, W. Hindī *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bārahām*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *sidhila*, *sadhila*, Mag. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.

ḍhil, Nāip. *ḍhilō*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīl*, Bihārī *ḍhīlā*, E. Hindi *ḍhal*, Hindi *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhi *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhīlūm*, Mar. *ḍhilā*, *ḍhīl*, *saḍhal*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *viśat*, Pāli *viśati*, *viśa*, Kāsm. *vuk*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindi *bis*, Panj., Sindhi *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *viś*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prāk. *anurūva*, Pāli *anurūpa*, Sinh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz., New Pers. *sī*, Afy. *dērš*. Av. *antarə* 'within,' Old Pers. *qtar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. **duvitiyām karam* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daṭīgar*, Pāz. *dadīgar*, New Pers. *ḍīgar*, *dadīgar*, N. Bal. *thī(h)*, Kurd. *dītar*, *dītra*. Av. *hizu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)izāva*, Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, *ḥavān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šiyn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *šiba*, Kurd. *azmān*, Tag. Oss. *awzag*. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angūšt*, Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*; Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

Contraction.

§ 959. Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341-348, 379-394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows :

$\tilde{a} + \tilde{a} > \bar{a}$; $a + \tilde{i} > \bar{a}i$; $a + \tilde{u} > \bar{a}u$; $\tilde{i} + \tilde{i} > \bar{i}$; $i + a > \bar{e}$; $\tilde{u} + \tilde{u} > \bar{u}$;

$u + a > \bar{o}$, but $\bar{a} + \bar{i}$, $\bar{a} + \bar{u}$, $\bar{u} + a$, $\bar{u} + \bar{i}$, and e or \bar{o} + long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhar*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahiṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhaiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhī *bheṇu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahīn*, *bhaiṇ*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūtṭha*, *cottha*, Ur. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāūla*, *rāaula*, *lāūla*, Pāli *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāūr*, Hindī *rāūl*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *nāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāī*. Skt. *nikāṭa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niāḍa*, Pāli *nikāṭa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duūṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍuṇa*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suamḍha*, Pāli *sugandha*, Hindī, Panj. *sāumdhā*. Skt., Pāli *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindī *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhī *ruaṇu*, Guj. *rōvum*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pāli *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Ur. *gahama*, *guma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(m)hum*, *gēmhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dašn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(ih)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jēr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *viē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. **databara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word דַּבְרָא, Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *dāvar*.

: *Epenthesis of vowels.*

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjābī and Sindhī, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Uṛ. *khamḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāg*, *khamḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārum*, Mar. *khāmā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pāli *sūriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Simh. (*h*)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhānu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūnā*, Guj., Mar. *nahān*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēmha*, Simh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pāli (*ag*)*gini*, *aggi*, Uṛ. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *aḡi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Simh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prāk. *salāhā*, Pāli *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śaur. Prāk. *radaṇa*, Pāli, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindī *ratan*, Sindhī *ratanu*, *ratnu*, Simh. *ruvan*. Skt. *māyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milai*, Pāli *milāyati*,

Hindī *milnā*, Sindhī *milāṇu*. Skt. *klēṣa* 'trouble,' Hindī *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kalēs*, Sindhī *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *stri* 'woman,' Prāk., Pali *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istri*, Ur. *tiri*, vulgar Ur. *tiḷa*, colloquial Hindī *istri*, *astri*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhī *tiriyā*, *istri*, Elu *itiri*, Sihh. *istri*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaraṇu*, Bihārī *sumiran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnai*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsād*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *töym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šiyn. *šaun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōit* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yayn. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *brvaṭ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *bīrvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *būrī*, Dig. Oss. *arfūk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *darōy*, *durōy*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *mərəθyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *maṭ-paitīfrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pātfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādāfarah*.

Final Syllables.

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

Sandhi.

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156–175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99–121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59–64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21–25) and possibly in the Pāmir dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b, 307–308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pāmir group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

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ū 57, *r* 68, *ē* 86, *ō* 101.

ar < *r* 67.

al < *r* 80.

ā < *a* 5, = *ā* 15, < *i* 26, *ī* 39,
u 46, *ū* 60, *r* 76, *ē* 88, *aya* 341,
āya 346, *āvā* 379, *āvi* 388, *uva*
393.

i < *a* 3, *ā* 17, = *i* 24, < *ī* 37,
u 45, *ū* 58, *r* 71, *ē* 87, *ō* 102,
t 221, *d* 247, *iya* 345, *h* 451.

ir < *r* 70.

ī < *a* 6, *ā* 17, *i* 28, = *ī* 35, < *u* 47,
ū 61, *r* 77, *ē* 89, *āi* 97, *ō* 104, *iya*
345, *īva* 391, *ēvā* 392.

u < *a* 4, *ā* 18, *i* 27, *ī* 38, = *u* 43,
< *ū* 59, *r* 74, *ō* 103, *āu* 110, *v* 365,
ava 380.

ur < *r* 73.

ū < *a* 7, *ā* 18, *i* 29, *u* 48, = *ū* 56,
< *ō* 105, *āu* 111, *v* 365, *ava* 380,
uva 394.

r = *r* 66.

ē < *a* 8, *ā* 19, *i* 30, *ī* 40, *u* 49, *ū* 62,
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āi = *āi* 95, < *ayō* 344, *avi* 385.

ō < *a* 9, *ā* 20, *ī* 41, *u* 50, *ū* 63,
r 79, *ē* 90, *ō* 99, *āu* 112, *ayū* 343,
ava 382, *āva* 386, *ivā* 389, *ivē*
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au < *a* 10, *ō* 100, *āu* 109, *ava* 383.

āu = *āu* 108.

k = *k* 114, < *kh* 132, *g* 141, *gh* 149,
p 288, *v* 366, *h* 445.

k(k) < *kt* 461, *ky* 474, *kr* 475, *kv*
479, *kš* 480, *ṛkh* 508, *rk* 713, *lk*
797, *šk* 822, *sk* 854, *sv* 900.

k̃ < *k* 117.

kh < *k* 115, = *kh* 131, < *gh* 150,
s 404.

(*k*)*kh* < *kš* 481, *ṛkh* 508, *rk* 714,
ršn 784, *šk* 823, *sy* 850, *sk* 855,
st 860, *sth* 866, *sp̃h* 882, *sr* 893,
sv 901.

x < *k* 115, *d* 248, *bh* 312, *h* 446.

x(x) < *sv* 901.

xt < *šk* 913.

xn < *šn* 921.

xs < *kš* 482, *šk* 914.

g < *k* 116, = *g* 140, < *gh* 151, *t* 222,
d 249, *v* 367.

g(g) < *kš* 483, *gn* 498, *gy* 502, *gr*
503, *rg* 510, *jñ* 515, *d̃g* 538, *d̃g*
600, *dgh* 601, *rg* 717, *rg̃h* 719,
lg 798.

gy < *jñ* 516.

gv < *v* 369.

gh < *kh* 133, *g* 142, = *gh* 148.

(*g*)*gh* < *ghr* 504, *d̃gh* 602, *rgr* 718,
rg̃h 720.

γ < *kh* 133, *g* 142, *j* 179, *v* 368,
k̃ 440.

(*γ*)*γ* < *gn* 498.

γd̃ < *kt* 462.

- ym* < *km* 472.
ys < *kts* 463.
ng < *nk* 506, *nc* 528, *m* 321.
ngh < *nh* 509, *ng* 511.
c < *k* 118, *kh* 134, = *c* 155, < *ch* 173, *j* 180, *t* 223, *ś* 424, *h* 447.
(c)c < *kṣ* 484, *cy* 513, *cv* 514, *nc* 529, *ty* 564, *ts* 591, *tsy* 595, *śc* 810, *sc* 856, *śk* 908, *śy* 930.
č < *c* 170.
č < *k* 118, *c* 156, *ś* 424.
(č)č < *cv* 514, *tr* 567, *śy* 930.
ch < *c* 157, = *ch* 172, < *ś* 396, *ś* 405, *s* 411.
(c)ch < *kṣ* 485, *ts* 592, *tsy* 596, *thy* 598, *ps* 684, *śc* 811.
j < *c* 158, = *j* 178, < *jh* 189, *y* 331, *r* 350, *s* 412, *ś* 425, *ś* 441.
(j)j < *kṣ* 486, *jñ* 517, *jy* 521, *jv* 524, *nc* 530, *dy* 607, *dr* 609, *bj* 691, *rj* 722, *ry* 763, *hy* 947.
ĵ < *c* 159, *ś* 433.
jh < *j* 181, = *jh* 188, < *d* 250, *s* 412.
(j)jh < *kṣ* 486, *jy* 522, *jv* 525, *dhy* 619, *dhr* 626, *dhv* 629, *rjh* 725, *sy* 890, *hy* 948.
ñ < *n* 276.
(ñ)ñ < *jñ* 518, *nc* 532, *ny* 554, *ny* 661, *śn* 838.
ñj < *nc* 531, *ny* 553, *ny* 660.
ṭ < *ch* 174, = *ṭ* 191, < *ṭh* 200, *ḍ* 209, *t* 224.
(ṭ)ṭ < *nt* 541, *tt* 559, *tr* 568, *nth* 641, *rt* 730, *rth* 739, *śt* 824, *śtr* 828, *śth* 834, *st* 861, *sth* 867.
tr < *tr* 569.
ṭh < *c* 160, *ch* 175, = *ṭh* 199, < *t* 225, *th* 238.
(ṭ)ṭh < *tr* 570, *ddh* 603, *rth* 740, *śt* 825, *śtr* 829, *śth* 835, *sty* 865, *sth* 868.
ḍ < *ṭ* 192, *ṭh* 201, = *ḍ* 208, < *t* 226, *d* 251, *dh* 265, *l* 359, *ś* 397.
(ḍ)ḍ < *dḡ* 539, *nt* 542, *nd* 546, *ndh* 549, *tr* 571, *dr* 610, *pt* 665, *rt* 731, *rd* 743, *rdh* 749, *śt* 826, *śtr* 830, *śth* 836, *sth* 869.
ḍh < *ṭ* 193, *ṭh* 202, *th* 239, *dh* 266, *r* 351.
(ḍ)ḍh < *ddh* 604, *dr* 611, *rd* 744, *rdh* 750, *rś* 777, *śt* 827, *śtr* 831, *śth* 837.
n < *n* 277.
(n)n < *kṣn* 492, *jñ* 519, *nc* 533, *ny* 555, *nv* 557, *ny* 662, *rn* 726, *rn* 754, *śn* 839.
nt < *nth* 544.
ntr < *ntr* 637.
nd < *nt* 543.
ndr < *ntr* 638, *ndr* 648.
ndh < *nth* 545.
nh < *śn* 840, *sn* 874, *hn* 940.
t < *k* 119, *c* 161, *ch* 176, *ṭ* 194, = *t* 220, < *th* 240, *d* 252, *dh* 267, *s* 413.
(t)t < *kt* 464, *gdh* 495, *tm* 561, *ty* 565, *tr* 572, *tv* 581, *nt* 632, *nth* 644, *ndh* 651, *pt* 666, *rk* 715, *rt* 732, *st* 862, *sth* 870, *śt* 915.
tr < *rk* 716.
th < *c* 162, *t* 227, = *th* 237, < *d* 253.
(t)th < *kth* 469, *nt* 633, *ndh* 652, *rth* 741, *st* 863, *sty* 865, *sth* 871, *śt* 916.
θ < *c* 162, *t* 227, *s* 414.
d < *c* 163, *j* 182, *ḍ* 210, *t* 228, = *d* 246, < *dh* 268, *r* 352, *s* 415.
(d)d < *gdh* 496, *jv* 526, *tv* 582, *dy* 608, *dr* 612, *dv* 616, *dhy* 620, *dhr* 627, *dhv* 630, *nt* 634, *nth* 645, *ndh* 653, *pt* 667, *bd* 694, *rt* 733, *rd* 745, *śn* 922.
dr < *tr* 573.
dh < *th* 241, *d* 254, = *dh* 264.
(d)dh < *gdh* 497, *dhy* 621, *dhr* 628, *dhv* 631, *pt* 668, *bāh* 695, *rd* 746, *rdh* 751, *rdhv* 752.
ḍ < *d* 254.

$n < \eta$ 218, \bar{d} 255, = n 275, $< m$ 320, r 353, l 360, v 370.

(n) $n < kn$ 470, $k\eta n$ 492, gn 499, $j\eta$ 520, ηc 534, $\bar{d}g$ 540, $\eta\bar{d}$ 548, $\eta\bar{d}h$ 550, ηy 556, ηv 558, nt 636, ηdr 650, ηdh 655, ηy 663, ηv 664, ηn 727, ηn 755, $r\eta n$ 785, ηn 841, ηn 875, ηn 923, hn 941.

$\eta\bar{d} < \eta\bar{d}$ 547, nt 635, ηth 646, ηdr 649, ηdh 654, ηn 922.

$\eta dh < \eta th$ 647, hn 942.

(n) $nh < \eta dh$ 656.

$\eta m < dm$ 606, sv 902.

$\eta v < sv$ 902.

$\eta h < \eta n$ 842, ηn 876.

$p < k$ 120, t 195, = p 287, $< ph$ 296, b 304.

$p(p) < km$ 473, tp 560, tm 563, tv 583, pn 675, py 679, pr 680, mp 702, rp 758, rv 767, lp 799, sp 844, sp 877.

$pt < tm$ 562.

$ps < fs$ 690.

$ph < p$ 289, = ph 295.

(p) $ph < sp$ 845, sp 878, $sp h$ 883, sv 903.

$f < p$ 289, bh 313, m 322, v 371, h 448.

$f(f) < tv$ 584, pn 676, sv 903.

$ft < kt$ 465, pt 669.

$fth < pt$ 670.

$fr < tr$ 574.

$b < n$ 278, p 290, ph 297, = b 303, $< bh$ 314, m 323, y 332, v 372.

$b(b) < jv$ 527, tv 585, dv 617, pt 671, bj 693, br 696, bhr 698, mb 704, rb 759, rv 768, lv 805, vy 807.

$b\bar{d} < bj$ 692.

$bz < ps$ 685.

$bh < k$ 121, dh 269, ph 298, b 305, = bh 311, $< y$ 333, v 373, h 449.

(b) $bh < bhy$ 697, bhr 699, $rdhv$ 753, rbh 760, rv 769, sm 847, hv 949.

$m < n$ 279, p 291, b 306, bh 315, = m 319, $< v$ 374.

$m(m) < km$ 471, gm 501, dm 605, nm 659, pn 677, $pn y$ 678, mn 701, mb 705, mbh 706, mr 710, mv 711, rm 761, lm 801, sm 814, sm 848, sm 925, hm 944.

$mb < mp$ 703, mr 709, lm 800, hm 945.

$mbh < hm$ 946.

$mv < m$ 327.

$mh < bh$ 316, mbh 707, sm 849, sm 884.

$ms < ps$ 686.

$y < \bar{e}$ 92, k 122, kh 137, g 143, c 164, j 183, t 229, th 242, \bar{d} 256, dh 270, p 292, b 307, = y 330, $< v$ 375, \bar{s} 398, s 406, h 451.

$y(y) < dhy$ 622.

$yah < \bar{u}$ 64.

$r < r$ 81, t 196, \bar{d} 211, $\bar{d}h$ 215, t 230, \bar{d} 257, n 280, y 334, = r 349, $< l$ 361.

$r(r) < kr$ 476, ghr 505, tr 575, ntr 639, pt 672, pr 681, rn 728, rt 735, rd 747, rn 756, rm 762, ry 764, rv 771, rs 778, $r\eta n$ 786, rh 795.

$ra < r$ 69.

$ri < r$ 72.

$ru < r$ 75.

$rj < ry$ 765.

$rth < rt$ 729.

$rd < rt$ 734.

$rbh < rv$ 770.

$rs < r\eta n$ 787.

$rz < rj$ 723, $r\bar{s}$ 779, $r\eta n$ 788.

$rh < th$ 203.

$r < \bar{d}$ 211.

$rh < th$ 203, dh 214.

$\bar{l} < t$ 197, th 204, \bar{d} 212, dh 216, n 219, t 231, th 243, \bar{d} 258, dh 271, n 281, y 335, r 354, = l 358, $< \bar{s}$ 426.

$l(l) < kl$ 478, tr 576, tv 586, dr 613,

- dhy* 623, *ntr* 640, *rt* 736, *rd* 748,
rn 757, *ry* 766, *rz* 794, *rh* 796, *ly*
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B. Iranian.

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CORRIGENDA

- § 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12–13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a*.
 § 4, l. 12 for *manuša* read *mānuša*.
 § 4, l. 14 for *karkaṭika* read *karkaṭikā*.
 § 4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana*.
 § 5, l. 46 for *paṣcaṭ* read *paścaṭ*.
 § 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā*.
 § 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *pyḍaku* read *pyḍakū*.
 § 71, l. 8 for *mṛḍanaka* read *mṛḍāṇka*.
 § 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣavudin* read *mṛṣāvudin*.
 § 82, l. 20 for *mṛttika* read *mṛttikā*.
 § 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue'.
 § 91, l. 2 for *x'aēda* read *x'aēḍa*.
 § 115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka*.
 § 133, l. 3 for *rēkha* read *rēkhā*.
 § 167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah*.
 § 184, l. 5 for *rajānah* read *rājānah*.
 § 207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hṛ*.
 § 329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsā*.
 § 337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāyā*.
 § 339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvālaya*.
 § 342, l. 11–12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *mañṇiyam*.
 § 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaspa* read *vāspa*.
 § 374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.
 § 395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śīrsa*, *śīrsa* read *śīrṣa*.
 § 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement'.
 § 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *śavaiti* read *śavaite*.
 § 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm*.
 § 459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jyā*.
 § 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā*.
 § 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.
 § 486, l. 4 for *kṣiyate* read *kṣiyatē*.
 § 495, l. 5 for *dogdhum* read *dōgdhum*.
 § 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.
 § 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā*.
 Read throughout Āvantī, Waxī for Avantikā, Wāxī.

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